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WHETHER or not the revised peace treaty is signed there will be trouble in Germany. The government seems to have strengthened its position at the Weimar conference of the Majority Socialist party. But the revolutionary movement hatched by the Independent Socialists is likely to come again into the open, once the government's decision furnishes a point of attack. Ebert, even if he now has the intention of signing, is likely first to force the Allies to prepare their military advance. In the threat of that advance lies his best hope of uniting Germany, and of laying the basis for ultimate revision of the treaty by demonstrating that it was now signed only under active coercion.

AUSTRIA'S reply to the Council of Four, the correspondents say, will raise objections chiefly to the economic terms of the treaty, to the loss of the German-Austrians in Bohemia, and to the failure of the Paris Conference to provide Austria with access to the sea. There have been rumors that the government of Austria is toppling. A recent Associated Press dispatch from London stated: "The best information indicates that about forty per cent of the Austrian army is Bolshevik. The Communists are expected to align themselves quickly with the Hungarian Communists whose recent military successes are thought to have strengthened them."

AN interesting account of the Kolchak government at Omsk—now accorded informal recognition by the Council of Four—is given in the New York Times of June 15th. A Y. M. C. A. worker, recently returned from Siberia, gives this picture of the group at Omsk: "If the monarchist tendency is not strong with Kolchak himself, it is certainly dominant with many of the elements that surround him, those elements being the self-same that had much to do with putting him in power, and the same that would try to throw him out of power once he should undertake to disappoint them. They are an interesting lot of men, these reactionaries now supporting Kolchak. . . . . You see them every night in the restaurants of Omsk, in the Hotel Rossia and the Hotel d'Europe. You see the imperial crest on their tunics. You see them drinking vodka and champagne until the restoration of the monarchy in their minds is an accomplished fact. . . . . For the life of them they cannot see why a people that was held under the heel of autocracy so many hundreds of years cannot be brought under the heel of autocracy again and held there as securely as before."

THE informal recognition of the Kolchak government was preceded by an intense campaign of propaganda. Military news, particularly, has been twisted and torn. It was a month ago (May 23rd) that the following report was circulated to the American press: "The entire Bolshevik structure in Russia appears to be crumbling. The evacuation of Moscow, the head centre of Bolshevism, has begun, according to reports brought from Paris to Copenhagen by travellers and forwarded by the Exchange Telegraph Company." This report was played up by papers all over the country. The New York Times, for instance, placed it on page 1—under the heading: "Reds Prepare to Quit Moscow." And now, a month later, we find that although the Bolsheviki are still in Moscow it is Kolchak who has quit Ufa. Not liking the Bolsheviki is a poor reason for putting up with a steady diet of obviously manufactured news.

DISPATCHES from Paris indicate a more serious industrial situation than France has known since the beginning of the war. The transportation workers in Paris have gone back to their jobs but the metal workers are still on strike—and they have been joined by the entire Federation of Miners. In addition, there is a report that the Executive Committee of the French Socialist party and a

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delegation of Italian Socialist and labor leaders are attempting the organization of a simultaneous general strike in England, France, Belgium and Italy, as protest against intervention in Russia and the delay in demobilization. Mr. Charles Selden cables to the New York Times the opinion of a member of the French Foreign Office, who declares that the strikers "aim at revolution" and that "the government will meet them on their own terms."

FEW English periodicals supported the war with as much consistency and intelligence as the New Europe. Under the leadership of Wickham Steed, editor of the London Times, and Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson, who wrote The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans, the New Europe was the first important British journal to demand as an essential war aim the complete break-up of Austria-Hungary. The record of the paper makes particularly interesting its present attitude towards the peace treaty. Summing up the economic terms that should have been written into the treaty the New Europe says: "These are commonplaces of economic science, and if they still wear an attitude of paradox it is because the statesmen of the democracies lack the faith and the courage to tell their people the truth. In the peace, as in the war, the peoples seem destined to learn only by their own bitter experience. . . . If the peace treaty achieves no other result it will at least explain to detached observers at home and abroad why the charge of hypocrisy has clung so tenaciously to the Anglo-Saxon peoples."

IN another article the New Europe makes clear its objections to the economic terms of the treaty: "We have never concealed from ourselves and from our readers the dilemma in which we are placed by the present state of Germany. If it be true, as Lord Hugh Cecil says, that 'we shall gain in the end much more out of a rich and quiet Germany than we can gain out of any possible indemnity,' it is also true—a prior truth, if we may use the expression—that justice forbids us to allow Germany to escape her due penalty. But the conviction grows daily stronger with us that the dangers involved in a policy of wholesale repression are far greater than any which lurk in more moderate proposals. The process of economic recovery will be arduous enough in all countries without the added complication of a Germany represented by some unknown figure in the international equation. And one of the worst features in the present terms is that under them Germany remains too long an unknown quantity economically and an uncertain quantity politically."

WITH many people anxious for the event that will justify intervention in Mexico it is encouraging again to be assured that the administration has a sure-footed policy on the border. Secretary Baker declares that "there is no possibility of a misunderstanding" between Mexico and the United States. The American army has been sent across the border to "disperse" the Villista "bandits," and "will be immediately withdrawn to the American side as soon as this object is accomplished." The State Department reaffirms this fact, and asserts that the dispatch of troops to Juarez "should not be considered in any manner as unfriendly to the Mexican government." It was made necessary "solely by the fact that the rebel forces had occupied such positions in and about Juarez that their shots crossed the border into American territory and endangered the lives of American citizens."

MORE elastic, even, than the war-time Espionage act is the new peace-time measure said to have the support of the Overman Committee in the Senate. In Article 1 there is a clause providing prison sentence up to ten years for "any scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, the Constitution of the United States," and so on. The great danger in legislation of this sort is that it must be interpreted by a hundred juries with a thousand points of view. Who can be sure that the right distinction will be drawn, always, between "scurrilous" language and language merely "sharply critical?" Organized labor—from its experience in McKeesport and Lawrence—knows the importance of free speech—and it is not likely to let this new bill be passed without a protest. There is no more important section in the report of Mr. Gompers and the Executive Committee to the recent A. F. of L. convention than their insistence that "the very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association."

THE Executive Committee of the Federation has been steadfast in support of free speech, for many years; it has, unfortunately, proved less steadfast in its loyalty to a democratic peace. To the recent convention the Committee declared that the "five guiding principles" laid down at Buffalo two years ago are "firmly embedded" in the present treaty. What were these guiding principles? "1. A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations. 2. No indemnities or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others. 3. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs. 4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, 'No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.' 5. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace."

IT is hard to see how the Executive Committee can believe that these "five guiding principles" are written into the present treaty. Point 1 demands "a league of free nations." It is possible, of course, to argue that Germany and Austria are not free so long as they owe unspecified indemnities. But not even a quibble can save the other four points. "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live"—has that principle been applied to Shantung? Or to the Germans in Czechoslovakia? "No territorial changes . . . except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected"—does the doctrine hold in Silesia? Can the raising of political sovereignty in the Saar be justified as the

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righting of a "manifest wrong"? Are there no "economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple others"? While the leaders of British labor have forced the fight for a revision of the treaty the leaders of American labor have been content with an evasion.

THE report of the Executive Committee has, of course, not been limited to questions of foreign policy. Various domestic issues were dealt with. The Committee reaffirmed its opposition to compulsory military service which it termed a service "thinly veiled to disguise militarism." It declared its opposition to the forming of a national labor party, but agreed that state and local organizations were free to form parties of their own. Certainly the most liberal decision of the Federation, in the first week of the convention, was its determination to admit the two million Negro workers of the country to full trade union membership. This is a fine step forward. The Federation declared that if discrimination was tried by any of the unions, separate charters would be issued to the Negro organizations.

SIX states have already ratified the federal suffrage amendment. The majorities have been amazing. In the six state senates and six assemblies an aggregate of fifteen votes has been cast against ratification. That is very little more than one vote to each house. The suffrage organizations have called upon all governors to summon special sessions of their legislatures. The majorities given in the first six states ought to decide the question for any governor still hesitant.

THERE has been no settlement of the telegraph strike, up to the time we go to press. The unions say that they will end the strike if Mr. Burleson's recognition of the principle of collective bargaining, in the case of the electrical workers, applies also to the striking telegraphers. Such an outcome, they say, would be a victory for the unions. But the wires are soon to be restored completely to private ownership, and the private owners will not need to abide by any decision of Mr. Burleson's. They have already declared that they will not bargain collectively with their employees. In this situation it is hard to see how even a temporary peace has been established on the telegraph lines.

SHARP reductions have been made by the House of Representatives in our army and navy programmes for 1920. The War Department asked for an army of 500,000 men; the House decided upon 300,000. The Navy Department requested an appropriation of $900,000,000; this figure the House cut to $600,000,000—no new ships being provided. It is last year's tax bill and not the fourteen points that has put some sort of limitation on our armaments.

A WEEK ago the headquarters of the Russian Soviet Mission in New York City were raided by the State Constabulary, armed with a search warrant, and all letters and documents were taken from its files. The members of the Mission declare that the raid was unnecessarily violent, that they have had difficulty in ascertaining the exact parties responsible for it, and that they would willingly have turned over to any legally constituted authority whatever papers were desired. "It was no secret organization that was raided," says the New York Evening Post, "but a group of men who have been inviting publicity, whose aims are professed, and who were there to be dealt with any time the authorities wanted them. If these men behind their open propaganda have been engaged in secret and criminal activities, the most vigorous methods would be justified. The question is whether rigor cannot be combined with caution."

THE much-advertised "peace leak investigation" collapsed when it was two hours old. The investigators succeeded in discovering that Mr. Lodge got the treaty from Mr. Root, Mr. Root got it from Mr. Davison, Mr. Davison got it from Mr. Lamont, and Mr. Lamont got it from the Peace Conference. This much having been revealed, the Investigating Committee adjourned—and both Republicans and Democrats issued statements commenting upon the completeness with which their several viewpoints had been vindicated. If anybody won, however, it was surely the public. An investigation conducted in the usual Congressional fashion would have distracted attention from the serious business now before the Senate.

OF the plans for a national budget system that have been proposed in Congress the best we have seen is Mr. Frear's. The bill which he has introduced does away with extravagant duplication, and provides a single Joint Budget Committee to which all estimates of expenditures would be submitted. The Joint Committee would have power to cut down these estimates, but not to increase them except by a two-thirds vote or in reply to a direct request from the Executive. To make this system effective Mr. Frear adds two wholly desirable clauses. He increases executive responsibility by making it possible for Congress to summon the heads of departments to defend their estimates. And he increases Congressional responsibility by forbidding any member of the house to offer amendments increasing an appropriation bill over the original estimate. It is this latter clause which provides a real protection against pork-barrel methods. Republicans who are in earnest about administrative reform will not omit that clause for a budget.

RECENT efforts at conciliation in Winnipeg have failed; but it does not seem possible that without "sympathetic strikes" on a more venturesome scale than has yet been attempted the unions in Winnipeg will be able to carry their struggle much farther. It has already brought severe hardships for many men and women. Amid all the governmental efforts at conciliation, the warnings against revolution and the speeches of generals, we have seen no offer from the employers whose resolute opposition to collective bargaining was the first cause of trouble. "Bolshevism" in Winnipeg had as one of its sources a belief of the working people in their right to deal collectively with their employers—the first principle guaranteed by the new International Labor Treaty.

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The Clemenceau Letter

M. CLEMENCEAU, in the covering letter to the revised terms, points out justly and eloquently the guilt of the former German government and of the living nation of Germans for the calamity of the war. The guilt, measured by its consequences, was a capital offense against civilization, and for a capital offense the punishment is death. That is the punishment meted out to the Dual Monarchy and to the Ottoman Empire. They have sinned, and the wages of sin is death.

Why not the same punishment for Germany? Admittedly it was the chief criminal, yet the sentence passed upon it as a nation is lighter, and the judges actually speak of admitting this criminal soon to the equal fellowship of civilized peoples. What excuse is there for this leniency? Is M. Clemenceau afraid of the Germans, or has he been secretly tainted by the endless and devious propaganda of the Huns? You never can tell these days. Mr. Wilson, as every one knows, has long been surrounded by German spies; Mr. Lloyd George, as many of his critics have shown, is a notorious pro-German. Now it is Clemenceau.

In spite of the inherent probability of this theory, the explanation probably lies elsewhere. It lies first of all in the desire of large numbers of Frenchmen and Englishmen for something more substantial out of it all than the pleasure of witnessing the execution of a criminal. For reparations in short. In the second place it lies in the rather firm desire of most people for a peace that will last without conscripting the whole of Europe and devoting half the budget to buying cannon. Thus there are three moral ideas at work: the righteousness of immeasurable punishment for immeasurable guilt, the need of reparations, and the hope of a lasting peace.

Obviously they cannot all three be worked out to their logical conclusion in the Treaty of Versailles. A great many people will admit that you can't kill a man and then expect him to work for you. At least, no one outside of an editorial sanctum has ever succeeded in the experiment. A smaller number of people (and they are the most dastardly pro-Germans of all) have a notion that a man cannot work if you take away his tools, and that he won't work if you take away his incentives. And, finally, to reveal at last the whole shocking truth, they think that when he has lost his tools and lost his hope, when he is idle, he is a prey to agitators, and that at the first good chance he sees, he will go on a rampage crying that he has nothing to lose but his chains.

These are the awful notions in the heads of some who are scrutinizing critically the terms dictated to the enemy. They are not the notions in Brockdorff-Rantzau's head. He is trying, as every man in his position would, to secure as easy terms as he can. But they are the notions of a small but rather decent collection of people in England and America. They want punishment that will deter, reparations that will repair, and peace that will last. But they know that a formula like this may be just nothing at all, and that everything depends upon the concrete application of it. Of the three objectives they care most about the duration of the peace. They think that there will be more real reparation obtained from a peaceful Europe than from a rebellious one. As to punishment, the thing to be remembered is that it will deter only if it is perfectly clear that it reaches the guilty, that it spares the innocent, that it derives from a law binding upon all peoples at all times. If such punishment can be inflicted, it will be clear gain for all the world, for the fixing of moral responsibility upon those guilty of aggressive war would indeed be a great deterrent. But indiscriminate punishment of the guilty and the innocent, the weak and the powerful, on the base of no clear rule of right is not a deterrent at all. It is the vendetta of clans, not the justice of civilized peoples.

The Conference, says M. Clemenceau, stands by its principles, but it has made important modifications in the draft of the treaty. As this paper goes to press those modifications are not known in sufficiently detailed form to justify any judgment on them. Everyone who knows how urgent is the ending of the war, everyone who prays and hopes that peace can be made within the legal framework of civilization as we know it, will await the terms themselves with a strained anxiety to find in them the barest minimum for a workable European society to which America can contribute her share. What has been said of the first draft treaty stands, and is on the whole sustained by expert opinion in Europe. But nothing that has been said prejudges not only a candid examination of the second draft, but the determination to find in it if possible the direction of a real settlement.

Alcock and Brown

IT is the fashion now, especially among persons who have not sat in the dentist's chair for some time, to take human courage for granted. Even with the utmost easy acceptance of bravery, the qualities required for the Atlantic crossing can scarcely be exaggerated. Just as in the case of the long unclimbed Mont Blanc, men were in no frantic hurry to risk their necks on this new dizziness, though everyone was willing to speculate on it. The

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arcane forces to be conquered were inside man as well as outside him. It was immensely a leap in the dark.

The trials that preceded Alcock and Brown have now the appearance of a prelude. The flight to Lisbon was indeed a success, but it was not dramatic; the exploit of Hawker and Grieve was dramatic but not a success. Alcock and Brown were evidently more workmanlike than Hawker and Grieve. They gave themselves a better chance. But they consciously and necessarily took more of a chance than the NC's. Only by a sheer defiance of risk, an open-eyed disregard of the margin of chance against them, could Alcock and Brown ever have flown the Atlantic. When Brown saw the stay give way he had every excuse for telling Alcock, and Alcock would have had good reason to turn back. But Brown's gallantry, the indispensable gallantry, tipped the scales.

The triumph is hard to conceive. In the ordinary time between getting up in the morning and going to bed at night two men have crossed the Atlantic ocean. It is the sort of novelty that requires more adjustments than one. The ocean has narrowed steadily since the voyage of the first steamer; now it is only the American Channel, a somewhat magnified Straits of Dover, and in a few years people who must be in Europe by nightfall will be able to be in Europe by nightfall. The harness is tightening whether for friction or union.

Incidentally, British national pride has recovered from the old setback dealt to it by Blériot. The emphasis on England's pioneer spirit is grandly justified. But beyond the triumph of a British machine that can sustain its weight for a long time at terrific speed there is a special triumph of daring, self-reliance and fortitude. These moral qualities are also typical of the human family to which Alcock and Brown belong. Their triumph is too big to be narrowed to any nationalism, proud as England has a right to be.

The Knox Resolution

WHATEVER the defects of Mr. Knox's resolution, they do not lie in the direction of the Senate's right to assist in defining the obligations of the United States. In discussing it the argument from convenience, the argument that the treaty is an accomplished fact, cannot be decisive. To be sure it must be taken into account. There are the most powerful reasons in the world for ending the war immediately, getting back to work, and turning from political wrangles to the relief of mankind. The case against the resolution assumes that it prevents just this. We find no ground for such belief. To be sure, Mr. Hamilton Holt has found the phrase "League of Nations" mentioned seventy-one times in the treaty, but this proves just nothing at all except for those who think about words and not about things.

For what is really reserved by the Knox resolution is not the machinery of the League, but the extent of the American guarantee under it. Senator Knox would specifically authorize whatever commissions may be necessary to administer the peace. He simply reserves the right of the American representative on those commissions to pledge the use of American power to enforce their decisions. The difference is not between league and no league. A consultative league is permitted. A guaranteed league is left for further consideration. Mr. Knox's opponents, if they are to make a case that will hold water, must prove that all the disasters they envisage will result from two or three months delay in furnishing the formal American guarantee.

In these months, whatever guarantees exist must be furnished by Europe. After that they may or may not be furnished by America as well. Those who think the treaty just and workable have no reason whatever to fear the result. They have reason for fear only in case they believe in their hearts that unless continuing force is exerted the whole project will collapse. In this sense the resolution applies an acid test to the work of the Conference. It will reveal whether the settlement has in it the prospects of European stability, or whether it is an instrument of disorder. If it is an instrument of disorder, better that this be revealed now than later. The sooner the peoples of Europe understand the treaty, the sooner they are awakened to its significance, the more prospect there is of peaceful and wise alteration. The American guarantee is a curtain. It obscures from Europe the underlying truth that if the peace is to last it must be primarily a European peace. For Europe must not and cannot expect America to devote its major attention to keeping Europe in order. Europe itself must do that. America can steady an essentially steady settlement, but no one who knows the mood of the American people or of her returning troops can believe that European problems will continue to claim our main interest. Yet that is what they would claim if the settlement leaves Europe with half a dozen new Alsace-Lorraines. The immediate effect of the Knox resolution is to reveal the dynamic problem of this peace, to clarify the issue by reminding Europe of her principal responsibility.

Though this is the effect of the resolution at the moment, a candid reading of it shows that Mr. Knox has not clarified his mind about the real relations

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between the Covenant and the treaty. Because of that he suffers from a confusion which in the later stages of the debate may well lead him entirely astray.

Thus he gives as one of the reasons for the resolution the highly important judgment that "the treaty as drawn contains principles, guarantees and undertakings obliterative of legitimate racial and national aspirations, oppressive of weak nations and peoples, and destructive of human progress and liberty." He then promises that the Senate will consider the Covenant, and perhaps in the end ratify it. Nowhere does he make it clear that ratification will be at all related to the correction of those bad terms which he has just denounced. In fact Section 3 indicates that these terms "destructive of human progress and liberty * * * may be found otherwise acceptable."

This leaves the Senate without any criterion of the Covenant's acceptability. The true criterion, in fact the only one, was expressed by President Wilson when he said: "The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee (i. e. the American) can be secured." If the Covenant is not tested by that standard, opposition must degenerate into mere obstruction, dislike of Mr. Wilson, and such misrepresentations as are contained in those sections of the resolution which talk about "amending the Constitution," etc., etc. But the character of the peace itself is an honest criterion, and the only one which really means anything. No man in his senses has any objection to those features of the Covenant which provide for conference of the Powers, or furnish a machinery of conciliation, or compel delay in the declaration of war. The real argument turns upon whether the Powers who rule the League mean peace or war. If they mean war, if they mean a policy of violence and aggression that must provoke war, then in our opinion American participation in reciprocal guarantees will stimulate rather than hinder them by insuring them against the consequences. If they mean peace and a policy of restoration, then American participation will stimulate that. America in the League will not deflect them nor reverse them, but will tend to accentuate the policy they pursue.

Now the test of these policies lies in these treaties and in the attitude of the Big Five towards Russia. If the treaties violate the principles of good faith between peoples, if they put peoples arbitrarily under alien rule, if they both strangle and exact, if in short they make one law for the vanquished and another for the victor, if the policy toward Russia is a continuation of the bloody and futile meddling displayed at Archangel, in Siberia and elsewhere, then to accept the Covenant without reservation is to entangle America in the brutalities and intricacies of Europe. But the Senators will merely discredit themselves and exhibit an intolerable partisanship if they argue the case either on the basis of irresponsibility, such as is revealed in the exclusion of Section 5 of the resolution, or on a falsely legal basis of constitutionality. The League is an instrument of world government, and must be judged in relation to the world.

This calls for discrimination, and as difficult a set of judgments as men ever undertook. The evidence is not all in. The first draft of the treaty was impossible. It is being revised under criticism, a fact which might incidentally cause a modicum of humility in those people who were complacent or cocksure. The terms of the second draft are not known at this writing, and in view of the fact that the Conference had admitted its fallibility the critics of the Conference can afford to wait the second effort with an open mind.

In the meantime, let us try to be as clear as we can about the issues. The Senate cannot and should not even debate the question of American participation in the Council and Assembly of the League. The controversy narrows itself entirely to the extent of the material obligation assumed. There is no question of withdrawing from the council of the nations. It is entirely a question of whether or not to pledge America in advance to any particular form of action. It is the belief of the New Republic that this question can be answered only by judging the kind of peace which the treaties create. If it is a tolerably just and workable settlement, and that means not absolutely just and workable but tending towards justice and workability, America can help Europe by contributing her power to the authority of the League. If the settlement is intrinsically vicious and disruptive of peace, America can help best by participating in a purely consultative capacity, and keeping her own freedom of action unimpaired. If the situation is so confused as to defy trustworthy judgment, the Conference should of course be given the benefit of the doubt, and in that case ratification might be made, following Mr. Root's suggestion, with a guarantee limited to a fixed number of years.

In any case the guarantee is quantitative. How much? How long? Those are the questions that should occupy the Senate if it wins the right to consider them. The answer to how much and how long is to be found only in the settlement itself, for guarantees are, as the mathematicians would say, a function of the peace.

The form which the Senate's action takes is a matter of considerable importance. The business is not to "separate" the Covenant from the treaty, but to discriminate the guarantee from the machin-

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ery of the League. If it should turn out that the final draft of the treaty is so menacing as to call for the withdrawal of all guarantees, or for the strict limitation of them, the Senate can best accomplish its purpose of safeguarding American interest and preserving what is useful in the League by annexing to its ratification a very clear statement of just what obligations the United States assume. This statement would formulate America's relation to Europe, and leave no ground for those to stand on who claim that any action by the Senate means a repetition of the work done these last six months in Paris.

What Can They Do for Kolchak?

THE Big Four are content with Kolchak. They do not recognize him officially as the government of all the Russias. But they assure him that they like the sound of his promises and announce that "they are therefore willing to extend to Admiral Kolchak and his associates the support set forth in their original letter." That original letter has not been made public. The American people therefore do not know the nature of the bond to which President Wilson has affixed his signature in their behalf. But "it is understood that the report referred to involves the furnishing of munitions and supplies for Admiral Kolchak's campaign." That is the interpretation of the Kolchak agreement that the Associated Press receives from Paris, where the men who manage the Kolchak propaganda are not inaccessible. They could tell us the truth and would do so, if the telling were sufficiently to their advantage.

Whether the truth would profit those gentry we cannot say, therefore we cannot know whether the Paris intimations as to the kind of support promised rest on anything but hope. We can know, however, something about the kind of support President Wilson could promise with a fair expectation of delivery. He could not promise men, because we are not at war with Russia or with any faction in Russia, and shall not be at war with Russia until Congress acts. He could not even promise to keep in Russia the meagre forces now there, because the technical justification of their employment on Russian soil lapses with the signing of peace with Germany. Our troops at Vladivostok are trying to force their way to Berlin, or else they are trying to do something the President cannot properly authorize them to do. Neither can the President order the delivery to Kolchak of guns and ammunition out of our national stores, except by way of sale of superfluous material. The President may extend a loan if he has any part of his discretionary fund left, but that is improbable. Finally of the sums raised from American investors for the use of our Allies there is a half billion left. Most of that has already been promised to our several Allies, but it is possible that a little of it may be syphoned out of the Allied treasuries for Kolchak's use. All in all, Kolchak's prospects of material support from the United States government are not very alluring. Neither are the Allied governments burdened with funds for a Russian speculation.

But perhaps nothing like direct aid to Kolchak is contemplated by President Wilson. Indirect aid is needed badly, especially in the shape of funds for the rehabilitation of the Trans-Siberian railway. That road is not now in a condition to maintain the equipment of so large a force as Admiral Kolchak must organize before he can have the least chance of succeeding in his enterprise of subjugating all Russia. For months he has been negotiating for a loan to rehabilitate the Trans-Siberian road. Without some kind of recognition the money was not forthcoming. It was not even possible to apply to the money markets of America and to enlist the practical support of the men who are so eager for the Kolchak brand of salvation for Russia. That may now be possible, with Wilson as a moral surety for Kolchak.

This may be all that the interchanges between Kolchak and the Big Four really signify. If it is all, it is not much. Investment in Kolchak bonds and Kolchak concessions will remain a shaky business. Not even the editors of the Times, with all their adoration of Kolchak, can be expected to throw their good money after their fair words. For the Big Four's adherence to Kolchak cannot suppress the fact that the Ufa dictator's fortunes are looking down.

Looking down? But is not Kolchak advancing, now on one front and now on another? He appears also to be retiring. Last week it was inconspicuously announced that the Bolsheviki had taken Ufa away from Kolchak. For the benefit of those who have not followed closely the ebb and flow of East Russian affairs it was explained in the same news dispatches that Ufa is a station on the Trans-Siberian road, at a considerable distance from the Volga, and to the rear of Kolchak's recent line of advance. Those dispatches did not add that Ufa had been for months one of Kolchak's chief bases, that it was from Ufa, in fact, that the whole "loyalist" enterprise took its origin. The fall of Ufa may not have been a disaster of great magnitude, but it did prove conclusively that Kolchak has not the force to maintain such extended lines

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as have figured in the reports of recent fighting. His centre caved in, and that is saying much. There is little enough chance that Kolchak will succeed in the objective of his recent offensive, to seize the Volga valley and waste the grain which otherwise will shortly help to relieve the dearth in Moscow.

But will not Kolchak receive effective aid from France and England once the problem of Germany is disposed of? We are just beginning to get authoritative explanations for the failure of the French to relieve the pressure on Kolchak in their Black Sea expedition of last spring. Part of the soldiers on land and the sailors of the French Black Sea fleet refused to fight the Russians. They did not conceive themselves to be at war with Russia. It was mutiny, but the movement was too powerful to be put down by proclamation and firing squads. Therefore the French evacuated Odessa.

That was one sign of the times. Another sign is the outspoken opposition of British and French labor to the Russian policy of the Allied governments. Those governments may recognize Kolchak but they will hardly dare to go farther. They cannot supply him with men and they have no money to spare. His fortunes therefore rest chiefly with America. Will our prudent capitalists grant funds to Kolchak? And if they do, and matters still go against him, will our government underwrite their investments? If we rehabilitate the Trans-Siberian railroad for Kolchak and some other dictator confiscates it, will we send a million men to get it back? There have been surprises in American foreign policy, but none so great as this would be.

The Leak in Our Constitution

THE Knox resolution does unquestionably create a condition not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution when they vested in the President the power to make treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." No more did the framers of the Constitution contemplate a condition in which a President binds together a woof of inacceptable provisions with a warp of acceptable ones, with the deliberate intent of forcing the Senate to accept or reject the whole fabric. What the Constitution makers did contemplate was closely associated action by the head of the national government and the representatives of the state governments, on a plane of the purest non-partisanship and the loftiest patriotism. Divided we might be on domestic issues, but as against foreign nations we might be expected to differ, if at all, not with respect to aims but with respect to our judgment as to means. In the present conflict between the President and the Senate the party spirit is frankly exhibited on both sides. Republicans and Democrats are sparring for position, with an eye upon the next election, while the interests of the nation and of the world are left out in the weather.

The President, by his attitude after his return from Paris, served notice that the opinions of the Senate on the peace negotiations need not be taken too seriously. He would negotiate such a treaty as seemed good to him and rely upon his personal prestige and the necessities of the situation to force its acceptance by the Senate. By the Knox resolution the Republicans in the Senate mean to serve notice that the President's opinions as to what the peace should be need not be taken too seriously. The Knox resolution defines certain limits upon the obligations to be assumed by the United States under the treaty. With these limits observed, the Senate will consent to the ratification of a treaty "embodying peace conditions that may be found otherwise acceptable to its judgment." What conditions these may be the Knox resolution does not reveal. Let the Peace Conference essay a new scheme of settlement if it wishes America to join in it.

The Peace Conference must take America's wishes into account if America is to endorse the treaty. But as matters will stand if the Knox resolution commands the support of a majority of the Senate, or even of a minority exceeding one-third, America is quite without an organ to express its wishes. The President can not speak for the Senate nor the Senate for the President. Nor is there a way by which it is possible to ascertain whether any given proposition will please both President and Senate. In so complicated a business as the winding up of a world war there must inevitably be a rapid interchange of proposition and counter proposition, demand and concession. Lloyd George or Clemenceau can present a claim or make an offer; neither Wilson nor the Senate can do more than assert a moral approval or disapproval. If in the circumstances our interests come off without damage, it will be because the gods are good to us, not because we are equipped to defend those interests.

In the supreme council of the nations we have a voice but are without effective vote. The Constitutional provision governing the making of treaties has proved inadequate to the present emergency and we find ourselves without real power to act. One might say: the Constitution has sprung a leak which gravely menaces our national motive power. And, embarrassing as a leak is in the present emergency, we must bear in mind the possibility that the

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sea of international affairs may become still more boisterous before the chain of national and international readjustments necessitated by the war has been completed.

Under the parliamentary system as practiced by the other liberal Powers national unity in treaty making is easily attained. The executive negotiates the treaty and the parliament ratifies it, but the executive is part of parliament, holding office only by virtue of parliamentary support. There is no indication that we are drifting toward a system in which similar relations between executive and legislature obtain. Such a system might give us greater governmental efficiency in domestic affairs but at a price we do not care to pay. In our foreign affairs, however, we must somehow secure greater efficiency. There appears to be no reason why we should pay a heavy price for it. We can secure efficiency without formal constitutional change the moment we recognize that the President and Senate can not remain "co-equal parts of the treaty making power," but must become a single coordinated power.

That end can be attained, simply and effectively, through an unwritten rule by which every commission empowered to negotiate a treaty shall contain not only representatives of the President but also representatives chosen by the several parties in the Senate, whether from within the Senate or outside of it. Formally the Senate would remain free to reject a treaty negotiated by such a body and the President would remain free, formally, to refuse to submit such a treaty for ratification. The British and French parliaments and executives have similar formal powers. But it would be a rare case in which they were exercised, and in such a case the course of further action would be clear. A new set of negotiators, representing correctly the views of the parliamentary majority would be selected immediately to work out a new treaty. It ought to be much the same with us. But as matters stand today, what will happen if the Senate rejects the treaty negotiated by President Wilson? Nobody knows. We shall muddle through somehow, and probably take a long time about it, while our opportunity of advancing the national interest decays.

Under the plan we propose the President, if he chose to conduct negotiations in person, would be flanked not as now by commissioners selected according to his taste—what are their names anyway?—but perhaps by four Senators, two Democrats and two Republicans, selected under a rule that would assure them, in the ordinary circumstance, of two-thirds support of any action they endorsed. That would make the negotiation and the ratification of a treaty parts of an organic process. It would make negotiation more difficult, to be sure, but it would make ratification practically certain. And what is the use of ease of negotiation if the chances are against ratification?

If such a plan were in operation today the Republicans would very likely be represented on the peace commission by Lodge and Knox, both on the alert for chances to embarrass the President. They might incline over-credulously to the arguments of Clemenceau and Orlando and help to force upon the President compromises he has not yet accepted under the present plan. But geographical remoteness does not keep Lodge and Knox from playing into the hands of the President's opponents in the Peace Conference, and their semi-irresponsibility permits them to go very far in this direction without disquieting their consciences as American patriots.

American isolation is at an end. Whether we like it or not, we have to do business as a world Power. More and more our national happiness and safety will depend upon the efficiency with which we conduct our international affairs. Our present system works badly; indeed, it is at the point of not working at all. As a practical people, are we going to remain content with such a system? It is a very small change that is required to mend it, a change involving no constitutional amendment nor even an act of Congress, but a recognition by President and Senate that personal and party dissensions have no legitimate place when the interests of the American nation are to be safeguarded in the field of international affairs.

A British Liberal Appeals to American Liberals

THE Editor of the London Daily News, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, has written an appeal to American liberals not to desert the League at this time. Only a fragment of his argument is at hand, in a cable to the New York World, but the trend of it is apparent. He agrees to the indictment of the first draft treaty, but concludes that just because the treaty is bad, the League is necessary to save Europe from disaster.

We venture, speaking for the New Republic alone, to reply to him. The Covenant, as it now exists, consists roughly of three parts. The first is the organization of the League—the Council, the Assembly, the Court of Justice, Secretariat, and various subsidiary organs. The second is the provision making delay and inquiry compulsory. The third is the formal guarantee of the status quo as left by the Peace Conference. There has never been any debate as to the desirability of the organization. Though by no means perfect, it consti-

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tutes an immense advance over the diplomatic machinery of 1914. There is not much dispute over compulsory delay, and what there is of it is entirely reactionary in origin. The dispute centres about the guarantee of the status quo, expressed specifically in Article Ten.

First, there is a dispute as to its meaning. One group of interpreters says that it adds nothing to the substance of the Covenant because it simply guarantees member states against sudden external aggression. But as aggression is forbidden in the compulsory delay clauses, it is a trifle difficult to believe that the authors were guilty of mere redundancy. A second group of interpreters says that it is "the heart of the League" because Europe can never settle down unless its frontiers are fixed with iron authority, and kept fixed. We believe this to be the continental view of what the article means. This interpretation is reinforced by President Wilson's statement that the proposed French alliance merely hastens action to which the Covenant already commits America. Now if it commits America to the guarantee of French frontiers, the commitment holds for all the other frontiers of member states.

This makes the justice of the frontiers a matter of supreme importance. It gives to the hasty decisions of the Paris Conference a character of finality that they do not deserve. Can they be readjusted under the League? It is hard to see how. The unanimity clause would seem to obstruct revision, while Article Ten confirms possession. Mr. Gardiner, for example, would be the last to deny that grievous injustices are being done in the territorial settlement of eastern Europe. Poland, to take a single case, secures large masses of alien territory. Can he suggest any way by which the frontiers of Poland can be readjusted by the League against the opposition of France and Poland? It looks as if under the Covenant such frontiers would not be revised by the disinterested Powers and yet had to be defended by them.

This seems to standardize an illiberal Europe, and to subsidize reaction. That is why, when the first draft of the treaty was published, the New Republic urged the withdrawal of American guarantees if the terms stood as written. Such a withdrawal does not wreck the League. It leaves the vital part of it intact, the organization of a standing diplomatic conference. It does not withdraw America to isolation. But it does put upon the peoples of Europe the burden of executing the treaty. It is a burden only if they are left with the task of executing an unjust and impractical settlement. With the peace based upon the principles proclaimed in the armistice, no great force would be required to execute it. Just because the first draft is a project of violence, just because it disorganizes Europe, people are now trembling at the prospect of losing the American guarantee.

Frankly the people of Europe, particularly the liberals of Europe, must adjust themselves to the idea that American influence is not great enough abroad to do their work for them. They cannot make Mr. Wilson or any other American the trustee of their interests. They must look after their interests through their effort, and at this moment their business is to insist upon a peace which is stable in Europe, not a peace propped up and jacked up by the power of America.

Whether or not they succeed, America cannot return to the old isolation, and the struggle for an enduring peace goes on. The movement to narrow or even to eliminate the American guarantee is a part of that struggle, not an abandonment of it.

Above all, it is not a move intended to break the contact between the Old World and the New. American liberals who are trying to define guarantees in relation to the exigencies of Europe have no other thought in mind than to make that contact of a character that will best serve a real peace and the enlarged cooperation of the peoples.

Potash and Politics

WHAT is coming in politics if the old line Republicans return to power is suggested by the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee on a bill to increase duties on potash. Here is a war industry which, according to conventional Republican theory, is eminently deserving of protection. It can not live in competition with the foreign production, since it costs five dollars to produce a unit that Germany or Alsace could sell here, at a profit, for one dollar and a half. Americans, according to Mr. Emery, have invested fifty millions in the exploitation of our high cost potash sources. Shall they be robbed of their investment by peace, as they must inevitably be unless they are granted duties of at least 233 per cent ad valorem? That would be most unfair.

But there is another side to the question. Potash is an important material in the chemical industry, and those industries are not eager to add to the handicaps under which they labor in international competition. In the case of many other materials the disadvantage of costs inflated by the tariff can be overcome through the drawback system. We can haul wheat over the tariff wall, mill it and export the products, recovering in the drawback almost all that we paid in duties. The material can be identified in the manufactured goods. But who will identify exactly the part potash has played in

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the manufacture of chemical products? The conclusion is irresistible that in most cases the chemical industries will have to absorb the cost of protecting potash.

A much more important consideration is the great and growing demand for potash in the fertilizer industry. Of course we can grow wheat and cotton without fertilizers, but we do so at the cost of a progressive diminution of fertility. To encourage the use of potash fertilizers in every possible way is an imperative policy if we desire to hold our rank as a food and cotton producing nation. But American potash is too dear for agricultural use. If we give it a monopoly of our markets we shall place our wheat growers under a grave handicap as compared with those of Canada and our cotton producers under a handicap as compared with those of India and the Levant. Let us not delude ourselves with the notion that our place in the world market for agricultural products is secure against competition. Canada's available wheat soil compares favorably in amount with our own, and there is no law of nature assigning the cotton plant to the United States. Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia, liberated from Turkish oppression, will soon be producing cotton in a volume that will develop rapidly if we build our prices upon a level of high costs.

The matter presents another aspect that the American potash producers may ignore but that other American producers must take into account. We are desirous of building up our export trade with Europe. It is self-evident that we do not mean to send goods to Europe gratis; we expect payment for them. In what, gold? Europe has no gold to spare. In government bonds? Thanks; they look shaky to us. In goods that we can enjoy, or that will serve in our processes of production? Europe has no great variety of goods to spare, but one commodity she has in large quantity, potash. There is said to be a vast stock on hand in Germany, and Mr. Hoover had arranged to take part of it in exchange for the food we are supplying. But the protests of the American potash producers prevented any of the potash from reaching this country. They have permitted licenses for the importation of 20,000 tons from Alsace, but they have done so reluctantly. The amount is not great enough to do the potash producers much harm or the United States much good.

It is an absurdity to place any barriers in the way of the importation of potash. It is an injustice to destroy American capital invested in an industry to supply a war need. What, then, is to be done? The just policy and the economic policy would be for the government to buy up all the plants of the American potash industry at a fair valuation and dismantle them. That would be a loss of $50,000,000, if Mr. Emery's figures are correct. But that is nothing to the continuing loss we should sustain if for every unit of potash, worth a dollar and a half in the world market, we had to pay five dollars. An industry that derives its profits from a subsidy or from prices inflated by protection is a sufficiently annoying parasite. But an industry that requires a huge subvention merely to break even is nothing but a shameful extravagance.

To let the industry die now would leave us bereft of supplies in the next war, would it not? No. We know where our sources of potash are. There is no hurry about mining them out. They will serve us in the next war, if there is to be a next war, in every indispensable use where cost does not count. They will not supply our agricultural needs, because they will always remain too expensive for general use in agriculture. And developing the industry now promises nothing in the way of later cheapness. We have no known deposits that can equal those of Germany and Alsace, and nobody offers a hope of our finding such deposits.

If there is a case for excluding foreign potash from our markets there is a better case for excluding almost any other product that can be mentioned. There is as good a case logically for excluding the whole of our imports, although the consequence would be putting a stop to our export trade also. Fortunately we need not fear that even the old line Republicans will be logical in their war against American foreign trade. Some things they will overlook. But if they return to power we may expect our statute books to be disfigured with innumerable examples of just such injurious restrictions as the potash producers are now demanding.

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Great Britain's Industrial Conference

WHEN, in March of this year, the British Prime Minister summoned a vast Industrial Conference representative of almost all groups of employers and trade unions, the motive for doing so was apparent to everybody. The situation was one of extreme industrial tension. The great triple industrial alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers was threatening a strike which would have held up the entire life of the community, and might easily have led to grave disorders. Apart from this, the hours question was a source of serious unrest in almost every industry, and the outbreak of any large strike would probably have been followed by a general upheaval. The government's task was that, on the one hand, of averting a strike of the Triple Alliance, and, on the other, of gaining time in the hope that the general unrest would to some extent die down.

Whether or not the Conference was responsible for what followed, the government's object was actually attained for the time being. The miners, railwaymen and transport workers indeed refused to take part in the Conference; but the interim report of the Coal Commission—the "Sankey Report"—and the smooth progress of the railway and transport negotiations caused the threatened strike to blow over for the time, even before the Industrial Conference had concluded its immediate labors. The result was that when, after making prodigious haste with its work in accordance with the Prime Minister's instructions, it came to report its progress to the government early in April, it found those in power much less willing to acquiesce in the moderate remedial measures proposed than they would have been had the industrial unrest remained at its March level. Consequently, the by Conference in April, dissatisfied with the government's reply to its proposals, refused to proceed further until a more satisfactory answer was given; and, ever since, the Joint Committee of Employers and Trade Unionists appointed by the Conference has been endeavoring to secure a complete acceptance of the proposals. The latest attitude of the government was set forth in Mr. Lloyd George's letter presented to the Committee on May 1st; but this is still regarded as unsatisfactory, and further pressure is being applied. No one doubts that if the unrest were still plain upon the surface of the industrial world, as it is still real below the surface, the government would readily concede all, and far more than all, that the conference of employers and trade unionists unanimously recommended.

Before discussing the present position in detail, it will be well to give some brief account of the work of the Committee appointed by the Conference. Impressed by the Prime Minister with the supreme importance of immediate action, it set to work immediately upon its appointment, and completed its very substantial labors within a period of three weeks. For this purpose, it divided itself into three sub-committees, dealing respectively with the following questions:

(1) recognition, methods of negotiation and the proposal to form a National Industrial Council;

(2) hours of labor and minimum rates of wages; and

(3) unemployment.

The last sub-committee, faced with an immensely complex problem, was not able to make so much progress as the other two. It succeeded, however, in making certain valuable recommendations, especially that the future scheme of unemployment provision should be more generous, and should apply to all unemployed persons, and not merely to selected trades; that it should include provision for under-employment as well as for complete unemployment, and that organized short time should, on these conditions, be used as a means of meeting temporary fluctuations of demand. It also strongly urged that prevention of unemployment should, wherever possible, take precedence of provision for it, and that scientific systems of allocating public orders in accordance with the demand for labor should be adopted both nationally and locally.

The second sub-committee, dealing with the legal regulation of hours and wages, had before it the proposals which were intended to result in immediate legislation. It succeeded in recommending unanimously the enactment of a universal 48 hour week, provision being made for variation of the number of hours worked in cases where special necessity could be proved. It was not, however, contemplated that such variation or exemption from the general terms of the proposal should be unconditional, but that conditions and safeguards should be so devised that the position of the workers should not in any case be worse, when everything was taken into account, than the general conditions laid down. Power was also to be taken to make collective agreements in any trade, providing for a number of hours less than 48, generally enforceable on the trade as a whole.

The wage recommendations were not quite so detailed or definite; but it was unanimously agreed

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that legal minimum rates of wages should be made at once universally applicable, and that a commission with statutory power should be appointed to decide on the actual figures and methods to be adopted. It was urged that trade boards should be far more widely and rapidly extended, and that power should be taken to make rates of wages arrived at by collective agreement enforceable as minima on the whole of any trade concerned. The first sub-committee made two recommendations of the first importance. It agreed that "recognition" of trade unionism should become universal, and that foremen and others in supervising positions should have the right to be members of a trade union. It also unanimously proposed the establishment of a permanent National Industrial Council of 200 from each side, with the function of advising the government on matters of industrial legislation and administration.

The significant fact about the whole of these recommendations is that they were agreed to unanimously, without a single dissentient on either side. Doubtless, the Committee encountered in the course of its labors many questions upon which such unanimity could not have been secured; but it pursued the policy of including in its report only those points in which it was able, in the brief time at its disposal, to arrive at general agreement, reserving other points for subsequent discussions by the proposed National Industrial Council. he detailed and comprehensive memorandum submitted by the trade union representatives, and signed by Mr. Arthur Henderson and myself on behalf of the Committee, furnished a clear indication that behind the points of agreement, however substantial, there were far bigger and more ultimate points of difference, amounting to a fundamental divergence of philosophy and industrial outlook. This, however, did not prevent a substantial measure of agreement upon many important questions.

In fact, the agreed recommendations of the Committee were, to a considerable extent, a registration by both sides of the changes which had already taken place in the balance of economic power between capitalists and labor. War conditions h e not merely brought the general eight-hour day and legal minimum wage within the region of practical politics: they have rendered their speedy adoption inevitable. The recommendations of the Conference therefore imply not the beginnings of a new reconciliation of capitalists and labor, but the rudiments of a willingness on the employers' side to recognize what is virtually a fait accompli, and on the trade union side to realize demands wherever possible by peaceful and constitutional methods.

This willingness to face the facts is not at present equally apparent in the attitude of the government. Mr. Lloyd George's letter of May 1st did indeed promise legislation introducing a forty-eight hour week; but it appeared to contemplate far wider exceptions to the measure than the Joint Committee were willing to allow. On the wage question, the letter went no further than to promise to establish a commission of enquiry, and rejected the proposal for immediate legislation. Of recognition it said nothing, although this is not by any means fully conceded as yet in the case of state servants, as the present agitation for it among the police and the curt refusal of the government to recognize the police union clearly show. On the question of unemployment no reply was made to the definite proposals of the Committee. Mr. Lloyd George indeed blessed the suggested National Industrial Council, and urged the Committee to set it up without delay; but he appeared not to realize that the willingness of the Committee to proceed with the formation of the Council, as well as its chances of success when formed, would depend very largely on the prompt and generous acceptance of the other recommendations of the Committee.

In fact, after representing most strongly to the Conference the need for the utmost haste and the willingness of the government to act at once on the advice given, the government seems to have lost its eagerness as the surface of the industrial world has become more calm. In adopting this attitude the British government is making a profound mistake. The world of labor may be for the moment undisturbed by great crises; but there can be no doubt that much bigger trouble than has yet threatened is in store. The best hope for the government of averting this trouble would lie in the speedy application of every possible remedial measure; but instead the old policy of waiting until disorder breaks out and then hastily throwing a sop to the labor Cerberus is again being pursued.

It may be asked what were the motives which induced the British trade unions—except the Triple Alliance and the engineers, which were not represented on the Committee—to acquiesce in measures of a palliative character and falling far below the standard set by their own declaration of policy. The answer, I think, clearly is that their motive was a desire to help the "bottom dog," who is often in danger of being forgotten in the big conflicts of trade unions and employers. In the organized industries, trade unions have no doubt of being able to secure by their own strength all, and more than all, that the Industrial Conference recommended; but they realize that, even if they do so, millions of less organized workers will be left outside the terms

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of any such settlement. The principal motive of the employers was, no doubt, the desire to secure peace in industry without any substantial change in the industrial system; but it is equally certain that the main thought of the trade unionists was that of securing a levelling-up of the standard of life for the "bottom dog." Even the full execution of the Industrial Conference proposals will do nothing to alter the fundamental antagonism of policy which now exists between capitalism and labor; but it will do much to raise the standard of those who are worst off, and so both to improve their position absolutely and relatively, and to bring them for the first time within the range of effective organization. Nothing less than the execution of the full policy of public ownership and democratic control in industry, urged in the memorandum submitted to the Conference by the trade union side and pressed no less strongly by the Miners' Federation upon the Coal Commission, can bring any guarantee of better conditions in industry, or of the removal of the present antagonism, which is based not only upon economic, but, even more profoundly, upon human causes. The demand of labor for a real measure of control is still the dominant factor in the British industrial situation.

G. D. H. Cole.

Shop Committees

> I believe that the most effective structure of representation is that which is built from the bottom up; which includes all employees, which starts with the election of representatives and the formation of joint committees in each industrial plant, proceeds to the formation of joint district councils and annual joint conferences in a single industrial corporation, and admits of extension to all corporations in the same industry, as well as to all industries in a community, in a nation, and in the various nations.
>
> John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

REPRESENTATION in industry is the problem of the hour with business executives no less than with the organized workers. By installing some form or other of employees' association, "industrial democracy," or "company union," an increasing number of corporations are hoping and believing that employees can be given "a voice in the management"—a voice which presumably would not be too loud or too clear, but loud and clear enough to make the workers think that they are being consulted. Indeed, so popular is this shop committee movement that it is important before expectations rise too high to see what its permanent promise is. A careful evaluation requires that several preliminary questions be put. Why, for example, are shop organizations installed? How are they begun? What do they do, and what are their practical or theoretical shortcomings?

It should be clear that we are considering here any and all types of shop organization which contemplate dealings between groups of employees in a plant or corporation and its management. By "shop committee movement" we are under this definition, including only those activities which are on a completely autonomous shop or corporation basis.

Looked at in a large way the shop committee and employees' organization movement is simply a step in the development of a rounded structure of parliamentary government for industry. But that is not necessarily the reason why employers are encouraging it. Two distinct motives are to be traced in the present activity. One is the motive of fear, of anticipating the union organizer, of creating some intra-mural machinery which will remove the reason for union affiliation. "If I give my workers a voice in controlling conditions in our shop, there will be no place for any outside organization." That is the honest conviction of many employers who are announcing plans of employees' representation. The other motive, more rarely met, is primarily educational. It realizes that our industrial situation is not identical with England's; that our workers are not a homogeneous or even fully literate group. It realizes that people learn to be responsible by exercising responsibility; learn to participate in decisions by participating—even though the experience may at times be costly to all concerned.

The problem of shop committee administration under these two conditions is not immediately different. It is only different in the degree of mental serenity with which the employer views the growth of a sense of power in the workers' organization and contemplates the inevitable outcome of association between his workers and those in other shops in the same industry.

The kind of shop organization here under discussion has been the creation of the employer. Either he has proposed a fully formed plan or has taken the initiative in getting action on the formulation of a plan. It is important to stress this fact, not necessarily to its discredit, but in order to give a clear understanding as to the origin of the movement. For, owing their inception to the employers, these committees will almost inevitably involve a minimum grant of authority, however pretentious the nominal grant of representation may be. We are indebted to Mr. A. E. Zimmern for a warning sentence on this point. "Representative institutions," he says, "in themselves no more ensure real self-government than the setting up of a works com-

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mittee of employees in a factory would mean that the workmen ran the factory. The distinction between representation and effective responsibility . . . is constantly ignored."

What, then, are the functions of this type of shop committee? Concerning what decisions is it to have a voice?

In so far as the matters regarding which the representatives of workers have a voice are matters of safety, general welfare, shop conditions and community affairs, little difficulty is usually encountered from any point of view in a generous exercise of real power by employees. The reestablishing and maintaining of personal relationships between members of the management and the men are also genuine and unique functions. As one manager quoted in W. L. Stoddard's The Shop Committee, said when the chairman of his employees' committee expressed the hope that there might not be " any more serious disagreements between us,"—" I hope there will, because all progress is made by disagreement. But here we have laid down the rules of the game and we'll fight our disagreements out face to face. We'll play the game." The vital element of human understanding, personal good will, and the recovery of direct contacts has indispensable value. Moreover, if it can be assumed that the employees are strong enough and intelligent enough to exact fair treatment at every point, it will be useful to have the determination of piece prices (not wage rates), the settlement of shop quarrels, and infringements of jointly-accepted shop rules, acted upon within the shop.

But there are other problems—many of which the newly converted employer wants to settle with his own employees—which are less clearly matters for purely shop decision. To raise this objection in advance of its being raised in the plants where there are methods of employees' representation, may seem academic. Admittedly our country is large and it takes time for widely operating influences to reach every last plant. Meanwhile there may be a certain success with shop committees which will seem to belie such criticism as that which follows. Nevertheless it will sooner or later become clear to the workers in these autonomously organized factories that their problems are curiously incapable of solution until there is reference to outside facts and forces. Wages, for example, cannot be set by one plant except in some direct relation to those in the locality and in the rest of the industry. The tendency is all in the direction of stabilization over wide areas of the rates of pay at specific trades. Again, hours of work cannot be reduced below a certain point by the individual factory. The tendency here is also toward industry-wide uniformity. The shop committee's stand for an eight hour day or forty-four hour week will be no more effectual than the current sentiment of the trade or locality for those hours. Another point is clear. Only an occasional single factory can permanently put its work on a basis of a regular flow of work fifty weeks a year. Regularization of production, basically important as it is, depends fundamentally upon a knowledge of demand. And knowledge depends on organization—an organization inclusive of the selling agencies of an entire industry; and there will be no answer to the problem of irregular work until each industry takes its own demand in hand as an industry, and organizes its production in relation to that demand.

Nor are these the only problems that closely affect the workers in each separate shop. The margin of profit is of great importance to them. And there will be enough so-called " marginal plants "—plants which are struggling along on a minimum margin of profit—which will establish shop committees to make it necessary to consider this aspect of the problem. In the recent inquiry into the British coal industry the point was significantly stressed that at the present prices there were ample profits *in the industry as a whole* to pay a reasonable return on the investment of the industry as a whole. But it would require a pooling of the industry's profits to make it possible for the " marginal " mines to avoid bankruptcy without higher prices.

A very similar problem faces us in this country in regard to our short-line railroads, many of which do not and cannot pay their way if they are considered as separate units. And it was the wide discrepancy in the actual cost of manufacture and margin of profit between the large and small steel producing units which made it so exceedingly difficult for Mr. Peek's industrial board to decide upon a price for steel rails. The workers in the marginal plant can be provided with no incentive through any sort of " profit-sharing." There are no profits to divide. There may not be enough income to provide living wages. But the worker in the efficient large scale plant, would, if he received a generous proportion of its profits, build up a small fortune in a few years. The shop committee's interest in the profits of the business must inevitably become greater and greater; but from the point of view of a wise economic organization, its gaze should be fixed also on the profits of the industry.

But the ambitious and inquiring shop committee will not stop there. As soon as workers realize that they do have a voice in determining the conditions of the factory with which their livelihood is

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tied up, they will see new points of attack. They will want low unit costs. When that point is reached the game is up, from the point of view of autonomous shop control. Problems of research into process, introduction of new machinery with the maintenance of wages as high for machine feeders as for replaced craftsmen, training-in of new workers, the price of the raw material, the effectiveness of the sales organization, and economy in securing credit;—these are a far cry from a modest proposal of departmental representation on a joint shop board which is to discuss "grievances." But these are the very matters which determine low unit costs. The day is gone when the workers or anyone else will submit to wage reductions in order to lower costs. That is a lazy and incompetent way to attempt economies. It will not be the way adopted in any plant where the shop committee is a living force.

Managers of individual plants have been slow to recognize the value of action on an industry-wide basis. In the old days, every manager's hand was against his neighbor's. But the logic of economic necessity will force his workers to look beyond the factory fence to understand why it is that wages are low, profits fluctuating, work irregular and costs high. In that effort to orient itself which a shop committee with any power must inevitably make, it will have sooner or later to see that its shop succeeds or fails not as a unit but as a part of a larger unit—which is the industry. These larger problems may today come to an apparently satisfactory settlement in one shop. But eventually the pressure of competition, domestic and foreign, and the demands of the workers for status, will enforce more uniform action throughout an entire industry. In that hour not simply the desirability but the necessity of industry-wide organization on the side of both employers and workers, will be realized. And we shall see the need for an organization of workers with industry-wide affiliations no less than for the shop committee.

In short, if only we would view industry in terms of the several functions to be performed, there would arise less opposition both from employers and from unions to organized provision for the performance of those functions. We see two functions in question here. There is need of the shop committee to open up channels of direct, personal communication between managers and managed. A personal human contact must be re-established. A vivid sense of participation in a common and socially valuable enterprise must be realized if the shop is to have an atmosphere of good will and workmanship—and without this atmosphere maximum efficiency is not obtainable. Likewise, there is valuable training in joint action and in decentralized responsibility. Committee action, especially where different interests are represented, is inevitably educational. The shop committee can thus be the cradle of industrial democracy as the town meeting was of political democracy.

But genuine industrial democracy will never get beyond cradle dimensions until the important issues are determined on a wider and wider scale, until finally on matters like hours, price of raw materials, and protective legislation, decisions are reached in the economic bodies of the League of Nations and accepted by the world. This is the second function —this determination of the basic terms of industrial life. And only temporarily can the shop committee assume it.

Employers, especially those who are fearful of union encroachments and attempts of "agitators to run my business," must understand, then, that in their plans of employees' representation they are not merely creating an organ of orderly adjustment and amicable cooperation. They are giving play to impulses of self-direction, leadership and assertiveness in their workers, which will not stop at some point which the employer has arbitrarily set in his own mind. They are creating machinery in the operation of which the workers will inevitably come to see how closely their destinies are linked up with problems of tariffs, sources of raw material, unit costs of production and all the other elements. They are showing the workers that if an equality of bargaining power does not exist within one plant much can be done to remedy the inequality by affiliation with workers in other plants in the same industry.

Constitutionalism in industry is about to involve precisely what it has involved in political affairs—a hierarchy of representative bodies, each concerned with the problems which the size and character of its administrative unit requires. In this scheme of things the shop committee will necessarily have a significant place,—a place at the base of the pyramid which culminates in joint national industrial councils and in international labor commissions. It cannot permanently be an instrument to thwart labor organization or to entrench the employer more fully in ultimate authority. The shop committee can and should, on the contrary, perform one inestimably valuable and immediate function. It should contribute to the building up of a spirit of mutual understanding and personal confidences strong enough to make the transition to bargaining with labor unions a normal and a natural transition in which all values are retained and others added.

ORDWAY TEAD.

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Angels of Victory

IT was in Zürich on the day after my arrival that a letter came from home describing with enthusiasm Chicago's preparations for the great Victory loan. Michigan Avenue was gay with flags and flower pots and streamers and all along it there were golden angels of victory. I read it with bewilderment, it did not seem believable. It is less than six weeks since I left home; is it possible that only six weeks ago public rejoicings over victory should have seemed natural to me and that I could have looked on an angel of victory as anything but a hideous joke? I seem to have travelled more than the four thousand-odd miles from Chicago to Zürich. I have travelled from a fairy tale to a very ugly reality.

There have been several stages in the journey. First came Paris, a very different Paris from the one I saw in 1915, when people were living under the threat of invasion and were so wonderfully quiet and steadily busy. Paris victorious was quite different. Never have I seen the streets so full. Never have the taxis dashed along in such numbers tooting their horns till one could hardly think for the noise. The rush and confusion of Fifth Avenue seemed duplicated in all the streets. The restaurants were crowded and there was abundance of food for those who could buy it. The well-to-do seemed to be living quite as usual. But when we met them we noticed a distinct atmosphere of hostility and of apprehensiveness. They were frankly hostile to America as the country which was trying to keep from them the full fruits of victory. And they were quite desperately afraid of what their own people might do if they discovered that they were not to have all that had rashly been promised them. We were told there would be a revolution on May first, then when that date passed it was postponed to July fourteenth. And along with this fear of actual upheaval, there seemed to be a desperate sense of the pass to which France has been brought by the war and from which no indemnities, annexations, mandates over colonies can possibly deliver her. I went over to St. Sulpice to hear Widor play the organ and as I walked through the student quarter I saw the walls placarded with appeals from numberless newly formed leagues and associations—for the regeneration of France, for the restoration of family life, the control of venereal disease, the increase of the birth rate, the awakening of a moral sense in the young, the abandonment of party politics for a united effort against Bolshevism, all betraying the fear that France in the hour of victory is sick with many diseases.

The next stage was the devastated regions, five days of motoring through the battlefields of the Aisne, the Oise, Vimy Ridge, the Champagne and the Argonne, days in which we saw town after town in ruins, deathly still, the houses like skeletons with empty, staring eyes, and, even more heartbreaking, the little villages of gray stone cottages, so helpless before modern high explosives, like kittens shot down with cannon balls. And miles and miles of battlefields strewn with ugly junk, rolls of rusty barbed wire, heaps of unexploded shells, abandoned tanks sprawling like dead monsters. The trees were torn and twisted into scarecrow shapes. The skies were gray and most of the time a bitterly cold rain fell on all the desolation, on what was most desolate of all, the heaps of mud and the wooden crosses under which lie Canadian, British, French, German and American soldiers. No, whatever aspect victory bears in France it is not that of an angel.

And then we came here to Zürich, to the meeting of the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace, the second meeting of those women who during the spring of 1915 had come together from all over Europe and from America to protest against war. Now we saw victory from the other side, the side of the conquered. It is a strange and rather a terrible experience to have generalities to which one has grown fairly accustomed suddenly turn real and concrete, take on living flesh. How often in the past years we had heard discussions of the food shortage in Germany and Austria, speculations as to whether it was as bad as some said or as much of a hoax as others said, whether the blockade might not be made stiffer, and whether a nation could really be brought to surrender by the starvation of its women and children. German women and children were not realities to people in America, they had become abstractions, like munitions and morale and the rest, but here in Zürich they were suddenly very intensely real. The first one I saw was a Viennese whom I had met at our first congress at the Hague in 1915 and the change in her showed me, as no statistics could show, what four years of food blockade can do to a woman. Yet even statistics became vivid when we heard them from these women to whom they were the facts of every-day life. They told us of children two and three years old who have never learned to walk and who have never tasted milk, children who cannot resist the least infection, who die because of an ordinary cold or digestive upset. The Vienna mothers give their babies the breast as long as they can, sometimes eighteen months, but as soon as they are weaned the little things begin to lose weight and stop growing. The older children, boys and girls of twelve to fifteen, are dying of tuberculosis in great and increasing numbers, the death rate from tuberculosis for those years has

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risen one hundred and forty per cent. Sometimes these children look fairly well until one asks their age and then it appears that they have lost three years, the boy who seems ten years old is really thirteen.

The bread ration in Vienna is two and a half pounds a week, but twelve and half per cent of the flour used must be made up of finely ground sawdust. It is not enough for a working man, but it is more than most can buy, especially since the introduction of the excessively dear American flour has sent the price up till it is now ten times the normal price of bread. Our food is indeed going into Austria but of course, according to an act of Congress, it must all be paid for and with no raw materials for industry there are no wages with which to buy bread. To be sure the new Socialistic government is trying to make the rich pay the excess price and let the poor have bread cheaply, but so far it is only partially successful. And so families and communities are forced into the position of primitive tribes who must deliberately decide which of the people are most useless and are to be left to die for the sake of the rest. The young must be saved, they must have what food there is, the old men and women must starve. They are dying in thousands now. Vienna has so many pauper dead that a great new cemetery has had to be taken over for them. Every two or three days a thousand bodies have accumulated and these are wrapped in heavy paper and packed into empty trolley cars at night and buried in great trenches dug to hold a thousand at once.

If victory must be made out of the bodies of tiny boys and girls and helpless, broken old people, there may be those who will welcome it but nobody can say it bears the form of an angel.

Is it really victory after all? Are not the conquerors almost as disillusioned and apprehensive as the conquered? Certainly over here in Europe it seems so. All these rumors of the growing sense of internationalism among the workers in the countries of neutrals and of the Entente, their more and more openly expressed repudiation of the peace of Versailles—"Let the Germans sign as the Russians signed at Brest-Litovsk and then let them work as the Russians worked for the revolution which will sweep away an imperialistic peace." All this threatens the very structure of victory. And the only weapons the governments seem to have at their command, repression of speech, censorship of the press, these have failed in eastern Europe and may at any moment fail in western Europe. While the old statesmen barter and haggle at Versailles they cannot help knowing that the great menace lies not so much in conquered Germany as in the strange new passions let loose by the war in the "liberated countries" and in their own lands.

We call ourselves officially a Christian nation, though anyone who suggests that Christ's teachings should influence our national policies is thought a fanatic and a fool. That has always been true of every state in every age, and yet in spite of this practical repudiation of the words of Christ they do somehow survive and each succeeding generation accepts them. It must be that deep down in their hearts men know that these words are true and that history vindicates them, for if not they would have long since sunk into forgetfulness. Perhaps this war may again vindicate them. Perhaps we may come to see that they who appear to be the victors have lost the things that really matter, and that the losers may in the end have won them; that they who drew the sword have perished by the sword while the dumb, meek masses whom they led into war remain to possess the earth. Perhaps we may come to look on the so-called peacemakers at Paris as men who had ears to hear and heard not and whom we shall liken to a foolish man which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it.

ALICE HAMILTON.

Converted Missionaries

MR. LEONARD WOOLF, the main compiler of the Fabian Society's scheme for a League of Nations, having started a much-needed International Review to keep us informed—despite the newspapers—of what is going on abroad, I duly ordered the first number from my bookseller. When a small boy solemnly delivered at my rural retreat an International Review of Missions, I was divided between annoyance and amusement. To send me this—me of all persons in the world—to whom missionaries had been anathema since childhood: conceived as sort of spiritual spiders in wait for the Jewish soul and spinning a wicked web of textual sophistry to entangle it! Indeed maturer acquaintance with missionary methods, in which the mistranslation of Isaiah was supplemented by material lures, had not enhanced my respect. These Mrs. Jellybys—it appeared moreover—did not limit their attentions to the race which having produced Jesus might be presumed best fitted to interpret him. There was no people, however limited its brain-power, however great and ancient its civilization, but was equally the target of their theological assaults.

But still the conversion of a Jew was the blue ribbon of the profession. No wonder that Hebrew

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converts cost an average of a thousand pounds apiece, and that an effluvium of profiteering hangs over both converter and convert.

II

Then there was the missionary who came to our village during the early days of the war and held forth in the Squire's garden against the grabbing ambitions of the Germans, with their desperate Drang nach Osten and their immoral designs against the British Empire. They actually aimed at the oil-wells of Mesopotamia, and the monopoly of trade with Bagdad. They had a gun-boat plying around Aden. This man hailed from Jerusalem and was presumably saturated with the aroma of the sacred soil. Lord Salisbury's famous dictum ran: "First the missionary, then the trader, then the gun-boat," but he seemed an epitome of them all.

Being unexpectedly called upon to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer, I blandly advised him to change the order of his remarks in future, and instead of winding up with a eulogy of the British Empire, to begin by pointing out how much more advantageous it was to mankind at large to be governed by the humanitarian Briton than by the barbarous Teuton, otherwise his address sounded as if Britain was in mere crude competition with Germany for the very mountain-top from which the devil showed Jesus all the kingdoms of the world.

III

Thus pondering, I opened the Review of Missions, and turned over its pages in ironic expectation of a record of ubiquitous futility. What was my pleasant disappointment to find that it was as much concerned with the League of Nations as the magazine which it mistakenly replaced, and to come upon passage after passage, instinct with the question, admirably summed up by the Editor, Mr. J. H. Oldham, "whether the missionary movement if it is to live in the new world must not take a great leap forward and press into the throbbing heart and centre of the nation's life." Mr. J. S. Brough, in a paper on The Eternal Source of Missions, so eloquent and candid that it is a grief to learn that he has just died of the conventional epidemic, says: "The general life of the average professing Christian does not move men by its self-sacrifice nor does it challenge conventional standards. . . . There is an unhappy amount of bite in the criticism made of us which concentrates on our lack of truth, our lack of love and our lack of life. We are held to be out of touch with reality in respect of God or man; we are seen disastrously wanting in true fellowship among ourselves or with those outside our borders. . . . We require a fresh direction of impulse, a revised scale of values; for it has been made clear to us that our normal standards differ disastrously from those of God." Mr. E. Shillito, writing on Missions and the Man of 1919, similarly admits that "the Christian Church has often turned aside from its calling" and asserts that "the hope of the world lies . . . in a commonwealth of nations." . . . "The man of 1919" will not listen to the "cowardly" doctrine that Christ's teaching is "meant only for individual souls and not for nations in their commerce with one another." Dr. Diffendorfer, an American colleague, sets forth the programme of "A Dominantly Missionary Church" that is to win the world and "uncover the world's great needs, not in terms of theology or in the cant phrases of the classroom, but in the concrete language of everyday life that all people understand." In his Unoccupied Fields at the Home Base, Mr. Basil Mathews proclaims that after "the unimaginable ruin of the welter of war" we are at the turning-point when "the world will receive the trend of civilization which will determine whether international and interracial relations are to be rooted in rivalry, or to grow from cooperative emulation under the rule of Christ."

So great "a cloud of witnesses" puts the miracle beyond question. The missionaries have been converted to Christianity!

IV

And not only under the immense impact of the war have they been brought to see where the duty of the Church lies today, but they boldly maintain that such has been the work of its missionaries in the past. They "have been a perpetual protest against any claim for Christianity that falls short of universal domination. *They have denied by their witness the unjust claims of nationality.*" True, the assertion I have italicized is only an example of that "law of missions" which I have pointed out in my little book on "Chosen Peoples"; the tendency to see newly-conceived purposes as retrospectively in action. As a matter of fact national rivalries have often been imported into missionary effort, just as Christ himself has been universally nationalized. Still, if an inaccurate, it is a noble re-interpretation of Christian missionary effort, an inspiring concept for the future, a re-charging of a decayed battery, a linking of the Christian with the larger human hope, a revised reading that redeems "Missions" from the flavor of crankiness their official organ admits to be associated with them. With such a renewed inspiration, they might well hope to enlist the sympathies of more than the invalids, women and children, from whom their present support is confessedly drawn.

V

My satisfaction is not, however, untempered. Doubts intrude. The conversion of the missionaries is somewhat belated. The war is over. It is not so difficult to be a Christian now. Unlike the devil

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who becomes a saint when he is sick, the missionary appears to become one when the crisis is over. Still, there are a few trifles on which he may try the proverbial zeal of the convert. There are those 1500 conscientious objectors in prison for the imitatio Christi, and there is that unraised blockade of Germany. I shall watch in hope and charity, if not in faith.

Moreover the missionary's interests still appear to be practically limited to foreign captures. "Unoccupied Fields at the Home Base" do not, as one might imagine, refer to the seventy or eighty per cent of Englishmen who, we are told, never attend a place of worship. It refers only to the minority already saved and its problem is how to stimulate these to save other souls abroad. But why the immense field lying open without travelling expenses is ignored is left a Christian mystery. Surely Christianity, like Charity, should begin at home.

VI

And I do not like this commandeering for Christianity of that ideal of a brotherhood of nations which is common to all good men, and which was first categorically proclaimed and prophesied in the Old Testament. Still, the more I watch the tragi-comedy of the Peace Conference the clearer becomes the futility of politics and politicians. For a new world-order there must be a burning missionary faith, an apostleship ready for all sacrifice. If the "Missions" will really supply this, I shall not boggle at their formula, knowing that "The Eternal Source of Missions" is not a phonograph. In that case I will gladly haunt Mrs. Jellyby's drawing-room, enter into communion with the natives of Borrioboola-Gha, and even put money in the plate.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

An Impression of Germany

[*From the London Nation*]

A TRAVELLER who is trying to form an idea of the trend of thought in a strange country has several methods open to him. He may attend meetings and read newspapers and pamphlets with diligence. He may seek out the abler men and women in politics and probe them with questions. He may listen, silently if possible, to the voices of the street. I used all these methods during a three weeks' stay in Germany. In the end, after many interviews and much reading, I left off where I began. Entering Germany from Austria, and wandering with many stoppages for three days and nights over inconceivably disorganized railways of Bavaria and Saxony, I had the chance of listening to the talk of dozens of fellow-travellers, who came and went in the crowded carriages. Two conversations stand out in my memory as typical. A group of Bavarian ladies from a little country town had been telling of the civil war, and the lack of food, of their efforts to clothe themselves and feed their children. "It is far worse than the war," said one of them. "During the war we had hope. We knew it must end one day. Now there is no hope." The other conversation began at Leipsig, in a carriage full of obviously well-to-do people, including a major and a colonel's wife. They discussed the forecasts of the coming peace from Paris, and for a long time what they said was conventional. No people could accept these terms and live: it was ruin, moral, political, and financial. It meant the end of Germany. Suddenly a handsome elderly man in the corner, a manufacturer as it turned out, intervened with something like this speech: "Well, you know, we set a very bad example. Don't forget what we did at Brest. The Entente is doing to us as we did to Russia. The real authors of this tragedy are Ludendorff and the Kaiser." I expected an angry protest. There was none. "That's true," came from two or three of the passengers. The soldier sat silent. The colonel's wife began to vilify the Crown Prince.

Up to the publication of the draft treaty these two conversations in the train would serve as a clue to German thinking. Two strands ran through it, a black abysmal hopelessness, and an almost morbid self-blame. Omitting the impenitent pan-German newspapers, whose influence is negligible, Vorwärts and the liberal Berliner Tageblatt had dropped the old attempts to minimize the responsibility of Germany's rulers for the war, and references to the contributory guilt of others were confined to qualifying phrases in parenthesis. The condemnation of the violation of Belgium, the devastation of the Somme, and the U-boat excesses was general, and manifestly sincere. There was a real effort to understand the attitude of the Entente in these matters. An official article, published by the government department responsible for the prisoners of war, contained a really moving appeal to the German public to understand how the French peasant feels when he returns to his devastated farm on the Somme. The official offer to raise a corps of volunteer laborers to repair the havoc in France and Belgium was more than a perfunctory move. German opinion is ashamed of Ludendorff's performances, and wishes not only to separate itself from them, but even to do penance for them. That phrase ("to do penance for the sins of our late rulers") actually occurred in the resolution passed by the immense Socialist (Majority) mass-meeting of protest against the treaty held in Berlin last week. English opinion is puzzled by the survival of certain personalities in politics, but Herr Erzberger, for example, has to his credit a long and determined struggle against the U-boat campaign. The newspaper kiosques in Unter den Linden, in railway stations and even in hotels, displayed an infinite variety of pacifist pamphlets, which had a ready sale, while in the street hawkers were shouting every evening the title of a big pamphlet which explained "how our rulers lied us into the war." To this overwhelming current of opinion there was virtually no resistance. Among the Independent Socialists and the pacifists of long standing this tendency to put the whole blame for the war on the former rulers

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of Germany was so uncritical and so simple-minded, that few of them realized even faintly the menace of the Entente's imperialism. A fortnight ago Mr. Wilson's name was mentioned everywhere with veneration, and, stranger still, I met Germans who were startled and almost shocked because I did not share their admiration for Mr. Lloyd George. This mood visibly passed with the publication of the treaty. What Germans saw in it was above all a cold-blooded project for the destruction of a commercial competitor. The curious thing, however, about the comments on this cruel document was that few of them (I except the Vossische Zeitung) were definitely anti-English. The moral drawn, even in clerical newspapers, and by the popular Centre leader Giesberts, was that "capitalism" had in this treaty unmasked itself.

For the extinction of all hope and energy in the German people, the continuation of the blockade during the last six months is chiefly to blame. At the moment when the hope, I will not say of victory, but even of a balanced, negotiated peace, vanished suddenly, there was just one chance for the sanity of an unhappy people. That chance was work. We denied it, not merely by withholding food (which began to arrive in small quantities in April), but even more by denying raw materials. The chief industries were at a standstill. Swedish ores were for the first time cut off by the blockade, and with them the iron of Lorraine. I saw the textile towns of Saxony, with their forests of mill-chimneys that smoked no longer. If it was true of millions of workmen that they could not work, it was true of others that they would not. The motive to work was absent. Wages were useless, for there was little to buy. Clothing was prohibitive in price. The stimulus of innocent pleasure was withdrawn. One cannot buy coffee or tea or tobacco (the best shops advertise a mixture containing 30 per cent). There is practically no sugar or butter, and the jam is a nasty concoction of turnips. Why work, if wages will buy nothing? The unemployed allowance would just suffice to buy the inadequate rations of bread, meat and potatoes. Since work was denied, the mind of the worker sought other interests. Some gambled —one sees them engaged in it at every street corner. More turned to politics. Restless, disillusioned, and grasping at any new hope, they first expected that a government with a majority of Socialist ministers would at least make a beginning in socializing industry. The Scheidemann Cabinet did nothing of the kind, nor has it, I believe, any intention of doing anything. It pleads financial difficulties, says this is a bad time to begin, deplores the obstructive prudence so natural to the "moderate." It has gone so far in resisting proposals to "socialize" suitable industries, that even the liberal Berliner Tageblatt and Frankfurter Zeitung have begun to blame its inaction. As the workmen saw Parliament withdraw itself to Weimar, there to lose itself in interminable committee-work over the Constitution, they lost faith in the old parliamentary forms. The demand for some form of "Soviet" as a recognized part of the Constitution became irresistible. With some a mere fashion, with others a mode of expressing discontent, with others again a real constructive idea, the Soviet had become a symbol of revolt. The crushing of Spartacus in no way weakened the movement. The only result of the demonstration, that armed revolt is destined to defeat, has been to promote the strike. All the strikers, from the miners of the Ruhr to the bank clerks of Berlin, put forward political demands, and all of them based themselves on the Soviet idea. The strikes were in fact a far more deadly form of social disintegration than the fighting. They end only to begin after an interval for recuperation. The Ruhr miners, for example, have worked for barely half the period from November to May, and by the end of April the output of coal had fallen in Germany generally to 1 per cent of the normal quantity. The effect on the railways and on industry can be imagined. Capital values are being ruined steadily. At every big station one sees long queues of dilapidated locomotives which cannot be repaired. Some of the coal mines are hopelessly flooded. Machinery is everywhere being ruined for want of lubricating oil. For years the science and energy of this race fought the consequences of the blockade. Today one feels that the struggle has been abandoned; the tough will has been broken. The motive power of hope has failed.

The problem of today, with or without help and understanding from the West, is to recreate hope. It is partly a physical problem. A doctor would prescribe a rest-cure, with abundant and stimulating food, for the whole nation. It is not merely half-starved: it is in a state of nervous ill-health, that varies according to temperament from dull apathy to neurotic over-excitement. But even if the blockade ended tomorrow, if food were poured in, and credits granted to restart industry, I doubt whether German politics would then begin to enter a normal path. The sounder a people is, and the more its health recovers, the more will it seek to open some door of hope. The crime of this treaty is that it kills hope. Everyone in Germany had hoped for an end of wars: but there will be no rest, if these annexations to Poland are maintained. Everyone had built on the League of Nations: it is at best a disappointing structure, and from it Germany is excluded. To unite with Austria would have been some compensation for the loss of Alsace and Posen, which everyone knew to be just: that also is excluded. All this, however, is trifling, compared with the economic ruin that faces Germany. To lose every trading centre, and footing, and facility in China, Africa, Turkey, Russia; to lose the entire mercantile fleet, to be denied reciprocal rights in tariffs, transport, foreign residence; to see no prospects of obtaining raw materials on equal terms—all this means, to say nothing of the humiliation, a return to the economic conditions of the middle of last century. With no means of restoring her foreign trade, Germany must somehow maintain a population which can live only by foreign trade. Apart altogether from the indemnity, that prospect means ruin in the most literal sense. It means that for fifteen or twenty millions of the population it will be impossible by exchange to purchase the necessary food from abroad.

Of the indemnity I will say nothing: it cannot under these conditions be paid. One may ruin Germany, if one so pleases. One might exact, after a couple of years for recuperation, a reasonable contribution for reparation. One cannot do both. How will the future shape under this treaty? Will it, in the first place, be signed? The odds are, that sooner or later (probably sooner), it will be signed. There lives no single German who would sign it, save under the dread of literal starvation. I believe that the Democratic party, roused by Theodor Wolff of the Tageblatt, is sincere in its refusal to sign, and, unless there are large modifications, its members will leave the Cabinet rather than sign. This party has no working-class electors: the middle-class can always buy some food. The Majority Socialists and the Catholic Centre are both divided, but both on the whole incline to sign in the last resort under protest, for their working-class followers (including the Centre's Catholic women voters) would not pardon leaders who condemned them

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to starvation. The Independents are almost alone in saying openly that there is no alternative to signature; but they are too shrewd to relieve the present Ministry of the responsibility. Some change of persons is possible, both in the Cabinet and in the delegation at Versailles, before the treaty is signed. It may want much manipulation to obtain, by abstentions, some sort of majority for ratification in the National Assembly, and it is possible that the dread of assuming an odious responsibility may, after all, lead to the adoption of a referendum. In any event, the moral value of this signature will be less than nothing, for it will mean only that in its present condition of anæmia half the nation lacks the heroism to starve. In any event, the act, whether of signing or not signing, will be fatal to the present Coalition. Their prestige at present is very low. If they sign, it will be lower still. If they should refuse to sign, the starving masses would wholly desert them.

I doubt whether as yet any single tendency is strong enough to dominate Germany after the hour of humiliation, and to hew out a road of hope. Parliament is flat, dull, and remote, and its ranks poor in notable personalities. There may be an attempt to form an all-Socialist Cabinet, but it could not secure unity. It must on the one hand omit the most compromised "Right" Socialists, especially the detested Noske. On the other hand, neither the Communist leaders nor even such "Left" Independents as Däumig are likely to join it, because they believe in a pure Soviet administration. Even if the more moderate Independents (Haase, Oskar Cohn, Kautsky, Breitscheid) and the "Left" Majority (Kaliski, Cohen-Reuss) were to form a government with the tacit consent of the Assembly, it would be wrecked before long by the revolutionary tactics of the Extreme Left. The Left leaders have learned by recent events that armed insurrection is doomed to failure, but they intend to continue the policy of strikes. The Communist leaders whom I saw impressed me as nervous wrecks and every gesture and tone as they harangued the Berlin Soviet suggested an abnormal condition. Behind them is an army of desperate men, the war-cripples, the unemployed, the unemployable. In the general mood of despair the future belongs to the most reckless group. No one has much to lose and even for the propertied class property has lost its value if trade is out of the question and the workers will not work. The Versailles plan of exploiting Germany for a generation omits all reckoning with human nature. As another writer put it in the London Nation of last week men are not bees who will go on working if all the honey is taken periodically from the hive.

Sane men were trusted with one problem only—how to induce the workers to work again. Without some hope in the future it cannot be solved. Expedients for creating hope are many and contradictory. The old military party dreams of course, of a revanche in the old style, and leagues of officers discuss the possibility of an air war, and play with schemes of a more or less secret militia. Their public as yet is small, and the general sense condemns this reversion to the past. There is much talk of an alliance with Soviet Russia, and some pan-Germans, notably Professor Elzbacher, advises the adoption of Bolshevism en bloc. That seemed a trifle sudden, for all Berlin was still covered with ugly official posters depicting Bolshevism as a vampire. The real Communists refused to coquet with this faction. A curious "Continental" movement, with Bloch, Kaliski, and Cohen-Reuss as its leaders, has some footing among the Left Socialist majority. It believes in an understanding with France and Russia to break the Anglo-American economic ascendency. The idea of any understanding with France seems, however, fantastic, and though there are brilliant men (notably Julius Kaliski) in this circle, I doubt if it is more as yet than a group of literary frondeurs. The orthodox Socialist position, to which the Independents give the most confident expression, is, of course, that this treaty, as cruel as the peace of Brest, will last no longer. They foresee an early change of opinion, perhaps a revolutionary change, in France and Britain, and predict that the International will insist on the revision of the treaty. That may be the one sane hope, but no one who has watched English opinion this week will be disposed to expect much in the way of action at an early date from our Labor party. In any event, could a League of Nations, tied by its present Constitution, ever force Poland to disgorge her unjustifiable acquisitions?

I cannot myself believe that this faint hope, fed with a few perfunctory resolutions from London and Paris, will have life enough in it to induce the German worker to desert the leadership of the Extremists. The two real forces in Germany today are the new volunteer army on the one hand, and the revolutionary workers on the other—the machine-gun and the strike. This new Pretorian Guard, raised by Noske to crush Spartacus, numbers about 450,000 men. A large proportion even in the ranks are ex-officers, and the inducement to join it is chiefly abundant food, good clothes and high pay. The "Free Corps" are not a united family, and a more or less open feud exists between two groups of them in Berlin. The signature of the treaty will require the disbandment of three-fourths of this new force, and the whole of the relics of the old army (about 3,000,000 men). The immediate future might depend on the accident whether a civilian ministry chooses the Corps which are to survive, or whether an enterprising Corps chooses the ministry. A powerful caste is about to be ruined, and in any event the disbanded men and officers will be potentially revolutionary material. That Germany in its present condition can be policed by an army, however efficient, which numbers only 100,000 men, seems to me improbable. If Noske or a successor attempts to do with 100,000 men what he has done, none too easily, with 700,000, he will assuredly fail. On the other hand, the adoption of a conciliatory social policy would probably come too late. The popular expedient is to attempt a compromise with the Soviet system, on something like English Guild Socialist lines—a two-chamber Parliament, one House on the present territorial plan, and the other on a basis of industrial representation. That would be at the best an unstable compromise, and the Left Socialist wing would go on fighting for "the real thing," the dictatorship of the proletariat. The treaty is triple nonsense. It expects Germany to earn vast sums, and to earn them without the right and facility to trade abroad. It expects some government to impose this servitude on the German workers, yet denies to that government the army which alone might hold them down in outward obedience. It robs fifteen million Germans of subsistence, and omits to provide them with a field for emigration.

I am inclined to risk a prediction of the consequences of enforcing this treaty. They will not be interesting or eventful. For months to come Germany may be forgotten. She lacks the energy or the unity to act, though spasmodic essays at positive action may be attempted. The chief consequences will be negative. The workers will not work, or,

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in so far as they work, it will be fitfully, half-heartedly, like angry, weary, and helpless men. So far from resenting this attitude, the middle-class employees will largely share it. Already the lines of class-cleavage between the hand worker and miserably sweated brain-worker have almost disappeared. This "ca' canny" mood will affect the employers no less than the men. The natural tendency to repair machinery and restart trade will be checked at every turn by the knowledge that between the burden of internal taxation amounting to half the national income, and the load of the foreign tribute, all chance of appreciable profits has disappeared. Banks will refuse credit, for until the first two years are over, no one will know what Germany's liabilities really are, nor until she is admitted to the League will her chance of trade be worth estimating. The ruin will go on unchecked, and the irresistible conviction will grow that the only chance of restarting life lies in repudiating debts, or in socializing without compensation. The Entente, in short, by this treaty, is reducing Germany to a despair as deep as Russia's. In the long run, the only possible field for German energy is Russia, and whether Lenin rules or Kolchak, no force can ultimately keep the German population from carrying its skill and science to the mental desert of the east. In the end, the two peoples whom the west has wronged will seek their revanche together. But for a vivid, angry, resourceful, positive movement of protest and resistance, one need not look tomorrow. That in the end would be better for the world, for courage may do much to glorify ruin. Lethargy, despair, decay, the decline of an elaborate civilization, the slow lapse into disrepair of a good machine, that will be the immediate consequence of this treaty that murders hope.

H. N. Brailsford.

A COMMUNICATION

Side Lights on Great Britain's Policy in Russia

A RECENT report from Consul General Robert P. Skinner, dated April 1, 1919, gives an account, based on official sources, of the serious shortage of timber supplies in the United Kingdom and the plans for meeting it. After a discussion of the dependence of the United Kingdom for its wood upon other countries, especially upon Russia, which supplied 35 per cent of all the wood imports, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in a communication sent to the President of the Board of Trade and of the local Government Board sums up the situation as follows:

"Of the principal pre-war sources of supply—Scandinavia will probably be unable to export considerable quantities and the United States of America are likely to use not only the whole of the timber cut in the States but also a large portion of the Canadian surplus. The Board have had the advantage of the advice of Professor E. P. Stebbing, the Head of the Forestry Department of the University of Edinburgh, and they fully endorse the estimate which he has made after very careful investigation that Scandinavia, Canada and certain other smaller timber-bearing countries will not be able to supply the United Kingdom with more than 50 per cent of our 1913 imports within a comparatively near future. Russia is the only country which is capable of supplying the balance. Professor Stebbing was in Russia in the summer and autumn of 1917, when various foreigners were in process of obtaining concessions from the Provisional Government for tracts of forests. These negotiations were interrupted by the Bolshevik revolution, but it is certain that as soon as there is stable Government in Russia, the *demand* for concessions will be renewed—and granted in some form in the interests of the rehabilitation of the Russian finances. Now in Northern Russia there is a Government recognized by the Allies which is settled, apart from the encroachment of certain Bolshevik forces, which may be subdued at any time, with the assistance of the Allied forces. This Government includes the chief Russian timber-bearing areas within its regime.

"My Directors therefore desire to urge that arrangements should be made forthwith by H. M. Government with the Government ruling in Northeast Russia for the concession of timber-bearing tracts so as to free our people from the necessity of having to buy their supplies through foreign middlemen. The earlier the application is made the greater the probability that the most accessible—and therefore the cheapest—supplies of Russian timber will be conceded to this country."

In this connection, a note which appeared in the Nation for May 17th, and borrowed from the Japanese Advertiser becomes very significant. The Japanese Advertiser gives an account taken from what are said to be official sources, of an advance by Great Britain of considerable funds to the government of Archangel, and the "consequent establishment of Great Britain's interest in the great forest resources of northern Russia."

The Archangel government has accumulated since August a debt of 70,000,000 rubles on domestic loans, a part of which fell due on February 15th. According to the Japanese Advertiser, Great Britain is counted upon to supply the necessary funds for which large tracts of forest land will be pledged as security, establishing British interests permanently in northern Russia. Sapienti sat.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Death Train

SIR: In your issue of Saturday, June 7th, on page 167, in the article entitled "Restoring Order in Russia," the following passage appears:

> "Kolchak's record for mercy will not inspire confidence in anyone who has read the history of the Death Train as published by the Red Cross Magazine."

I have not the article in the Red Cross Magazine to consult at the present moment, but do not believe that it has reference to any cruelty on the part of Kolchak in connection with the Death Train. In case it should have made this error it was due to lack of understanding on the part of the author.

The reason for this statement is the fact that the Death Train was an occurrence which took place during the period of complete government disorganization which preceded Kolchak's appointment to the office of Chief Governor, the latter event having taken place on November 18th. A comparison of dates will show you that the Death Train had been lost sight of previous to this date.

I feel sure that an error of this sort, which might be damaging to the splendidly growing government of Ad-

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miral Kolchak, and which has appeared in your columns, you would desire to correct as a matter of simple justice.

KENDALL EMERSON,
Major, M. C., U. S. Army.

Washington, D. C.

[According to the Red Cross Magazine, May 19th, it was reported to the Army Intelligence Department, on December 10th that the death train had passed Manchuria Station, Dec. 17th en route to Chita; three days later another telegram came in showing that the train had been turned back from the west. How much longer this train continued its wanderings we do not know. Admiral Kolchak formally proclaimed himself Supreme Ruler Nov. 18th, but there can be no doubt that his influence in the "Omsk" government was dominant for some time prior to that date. He was in position to assure himself control of the supplies at Vladivostok; he must have been in position to end the horrors of the death train a month or more before it disappeared, if he had cared to do so. We charge him with nothing more than this omission, as the death train was started on its rounds before the time of Kolchak's usurpation.—The Editors.]

The Root of the Negro Problem

SIR: In the following comment, clipped from the editorial columns of a small town paper in North Carolina, lies I believe the root of the trouble with the Negro in the South. We have looked upon every misdemeanor as a racial misdemeanor. All Negroes suffer for crimes individual Negroes commit. The South must learn to look upon misconduct on the part of the Negro as an outgrowth of moral ignorance, common to any class of people in whose morals little interest has been taken, rather than as a cropping out of racial characteristics. I have lived in the South for over twenty-one years, and I believe that in seven cases out of ten, the former is the source of crime.

This particular editorial was provoked by the assault and crime committed on a high-school girl, white, by a Negro:

"Lenoir Negroes did well by condemning this crime and for condemning crimes in general by the worst element in that race. There is not a good Negro anywhere who does not feel injured individually as a result of that awful deed.

"The Record has observed with uneasiness a tendency on the part of too many colored men and women to be utterly indifferent to their responsibilities in life. They will not work, or if they do work they will stick to the job only long enough to earn a few dollars at high wages so as to enable them to 'have a good time.' This class of Negroes, men and women, can be found around the depot all the time; they will promise anything, but when the time for them to show up arrives they cannot be found. How they manage to live is a problem. They have every opportunity to earn money, to lay aside and provide against old age.

"If the leaders of the colored race could tackle successfully this problem they would have the sympathy and help of their white friends. There are thousands of white people in every community who are sincere friends of the Negroes, but it is hard to be helpful and to insist on fair dealings when so many Negroes are utterly indifferent to the elementary principles of honesty and decency. The more colored people work and try to live right, the more friends will the race have. This is a fact that the element which is so shiftless should be made to realize, if possible."

May I add that the foregoing was sent me as evidence that the South is doing—or is willing to do—its share in helping the Negro.

WORTH TUTTLE.

Dover, New Jersey.

Praised by His Enemies

SIR: Mr. Wilson as a word artist and idealist is marvelous. When he started for Paris last December he had the support of the liberal-minded people of this great republic, but the President completely failed to impress the leading members of the peace congress with his lofty views regarding a just peace, of making the world safe for democracy, and inaugurating a system of open diplomacy. His fine speeches were listened to with courtesy, but he failed to impress the men who held the fate of the world in their grasp. They showed him smiling faces, but met his fine ideas with marble hearts.

One of the best reasons for not accepting the treaty is the attitude of our bourgeois press. I have in mind a publication of this character. When President Wilson left for Paris last December, with the apparent intention of bringing about a just peace and a League of Nations which would ensure peace on earth good will to men, this paper could not say anything too derogatory and mean about the President. He was a Bolshevik, a Utopian dreamer, a dangerous man, a mountebank, etc. Today this same paper is boosting for the acceptance of the peace treaty and League of Nations. It now assures us that President Wilson has been converted to sane and intelligent governmental methods; that the treaty of peace is a righteous treaty and the League of Nations a splendid assurance of future world peace and progress.

There is no mental misery so disturbing to a man of intellectual power and moral worth than to realize that he failed to live up to his ideals when a great and momentous situation confronted him, and the bitterness of such an occurrence is greatly increased when he must realize that he has deserted his friends and is being praised by his enemies for doing so.

A. J. HOLLINGBERY.

Denver, Colorado.

Mannerheim and Kolchak

SIR: The Allied governments have refused to recognize the Soviet government of Russia because, as they state:

1. The Soviet government is—or was—pro-German.
2. The Soviet government is based on terrorism.
3. The Soviet government is undemocratic and unrepresentative of the Russian people.

Meanwhile the Allied governments have long since recognized the present White Guard government of Finland under the dictatorship of General Mannerheim, although it appears:

1. That German troops aided the White Guards in crushing the socialist republic of Finland, and that General Mannerheim sent repeated telegrams of sympathy and esteem to the Kaiser. Meanwhile the Soviet government was busily undermining the German government with propaganda among troops on the Russian front. The Finnish government was infinitely more pro-German than the Russian.
2. That the present government of Finland on coming

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into power executed in cold blood within a few days time, 16,700 members of the old socialist republic, and imprisoned in starvation camps, 70,000 more. Meanwhile the total executions in Russia for the year ended November 1, 1918, were officially stated to have been 3,800, including many corrupt Soviet officials as well as counter revolutionists. The Finnish government was infinitely more terroristic than the Russian.

3. That after killing and imprisoning nearly 90,000 socialists, and driving some 50,000 more over the border into Russia—and Finland is a small country with an electorate of only about 400,000—the White Guard government deemed it sufficiently safe to hold elections. In spite of all precautions, a majority of socialists were elected, but General Mannerheim, like the Allies after the Vladivostock elections, allowed not one of them to be seated. Meanwhile the Soviet government had disenfranchised all those who do no useful work for a living. The Finnish government was considerably less democratic than the Russian.

And much the same story might be rehearsed in respect to that great champion of democracy and the new order, Admiral Kolchak of Omsk, whom the Allied governments have supported, supplied and equipped, and are now on the point of officially recognizing.

Thus every argument that the Allies have urged against the recognition of the Soviets, can be applied with more strength and honesty against Mannerheim and Kolchak. Yet the latter are recognized, and the blockade draws ever tighter about starving Russia.

Washington, D. C. STUART CHASE.

Vicarious Atonement

SIR: I note with surprise that you consider the proposed peace settlement incompatible with the principles of Christian morality. You seem to think it contrary to those principles that the German people of today and tomorrow should be allowed to suffer grievously for the sins of its erstwhile imperial masters.

Do you not underestimate the tried capabilities of this admirably flexible religion? May we not see in these terms the application on a sublime scale of a cardinal Christian doctrine—vicarious atonement?

New York City. H. W. ELSASSER.

The Fifth Amendment

SIR: I suppose that among your readers you have some lawyers. I wish that one of them would tell us what the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States means when it says that a person shall not be deprived of property without due process of law.

I have at hand a standard textbook on constitutional law which says on this clause, quoting Story, "When life and liberty are in question, there must in every case be judicial proceedings." But, after explicitly pointing out that due process of law may in cases of different sorts be of different natures, my book conspicuously fails to give any positive intimation whatever as to what this clause of the Constitution does require when the matter in question is not life or liberty but property. It is this gap in my knowledge that I ask one of your lawyer readers to fill.

I have especially in mind cases like the last reported on page 78 of your issue for May 17th, in which certain matter alleged to be of an unlawful nature was destroyed (I do not mean simply held up, but physically destroyed by burning or some equally effective method) by the Post-Office authorities without previous notice to the owners.

The clause of the Constitution must protect us against something or other. My textbook points this out very fully and eloquently in its quotation from Story. Now, in a case like that in question, what is it that the Constitution protects us against?

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Massachusetts.

An Optimist

SIR: Surely you are too pessimistic about the peace terms. Since history began we've had to put up with second best. Can't we admit that Mr. Wilson failed in part and yet admire the fight he put up: one man backed by a few liberal countrymen, fighting against an age-old diplomacy of reaction and selfishness? Can't we look upon the peace terms as a sop to the reactionaries, and toward the League of Nations as an instrument to lessen the bitterness left by the Peace terms? At any rate, like it or not, must we give up the fight now? Mr. Wilson is still fighting, disappointed as he must be and certainly we ought to be able to carry on, put through the League and try with all our power to make it a living force for good. God knows it's a discouraging job when one listens to the talk about one and realizes that people seem to consider the peace terms solely as punishment for Germany, not as the basis for a more humane and stable world. There is no use in pretending that the greater number of people are wise and good; they aren't, but they've got to be taught if it takes generations and generations to do it. Millenniums don't come in the twinkling of an eye. But it is up to you, and others like you who do see the light, to fight harder than ever and with infinite patience, no matter how inadequate you believe your weapons to be. Surely you will grant they are better weapons than the people had after the treaty of Paris. Remember, that while we may not go forward as far as you hope, we never go back quite as far as we were when we started, and cheer up!

Portland, Oregon. FLORENCE STRONG WILSON.

From the Postal Employees

SIR: Permit me to thank you, on behalf of the National Federation of Postal Employees, for the splendid service you rendered to the postal workers and the American people in your brilliant exposure of the Burleson maladministration. It is my own view that your articles were the strongest single influence in creating the universal public opinion that our Postmaster General should be retired to private life, *and the postal service returned to public ownership.*

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
Washington, D. C. *Secretary-Treasurer.*

A CORRECTION

In our issue of June 14th, page 215, we printed a communication under the heading "Cablegram to President Wilson, by the National Conference of Social Workers." Our attention has been called to the possibility that this heading might create the impression that the cablegram was the outcome of an official resolution of the Conference, when the truth is that the cablegram was signed by members as individuals—a point specifically stated in the text.

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Books and Things

WHENEVER a new book appears I reread an old one. Who said that? I have forgotten. He must have been either an inveterately superior person or else a plain man exasperated, fatigued, not unwilling to épater les intellectuels. Is his rule a good one? Yes, if it makes you reread Bacon's Essays whenever Mr. Arthur Christopher, after one more twilight sleep, is agreeably delivered of another volume of Benson's Essays. If it makes you read Mrs. Aphra Behn instead of Mrs. Elinor Glyn the rule is neither good nor bad, so far as I know. It is bad if it made you read Becker's Charikles or the Greek part of Guhl and Koner when Mr. Alfred Zimmern gave you a chance at his Greek Commonwealth; or if, when M. Bergson published l'Evolution Créatrice, your superior person's rule drove you into the arms of the Reverend James McCosh, sometime President of Princeton, author of Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation.

Not in obedience to this or any rule do I read more old books than new, nor is it because, the past being several years longer than the present, the chances are that no new book published this year will be so good as the best books ever published. I read old books because this habit is cheaper than the other, because there happen to be more old books than new on my shelves, because one is a quicker guide to his own pleasure in the country where he is most at home, because to read new books is a little my trade, because my mind is sluggish, I like to play safe, I prefer to invest my remaining hours in none but gilt-topped securities. One compensation for middle age is the serenity in which it enables you to endure to be left out of talk you cannot follow about books you have not read. In your ageing heart you know that any rainy fortnight can put you wise to any new author, no matter how long he has been new and at work.

Even among old books I am no longer guided by a wish to learn the best that has been thought and said in the world, or by any other plan, whether ambitious or ostentatiously humble. The other day I read King John over again. Why? "I am glad you asked me that question." Because Judge Learned Hand had quoted in my hearing Austria's speech about England, "that pale, that white-fac'd shore," and had told me where to find the passage, which I had forgotten. If I had to write about King John I should have to try and decompose the pure pleasure of that rereading. And I should fail. Part of the pleasure was the happy assurance that the pleasure need never be taken apart, that I was free to read without looking for copy. I looked instead for those Aeschylean lines in which Tennyson, a good judge, said King John abounds. I shut my eyes and ears to the tediousness of Constance's scolding, I didn't wince much under the repetitions of "And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs," I tried to forget as soon as I had read it the unforgivable hot irons scene between Arthur and Hubert. Separate impressions such as these, soon effaced by gratitude for the bursts of energy and music, and no general impression that I could put words to. Not another echo of the received opinion, meaning by "received" that which has oftenest been delivered.

By how much I owe to friends the impulse to read old books—and to Charles Platt and George Rublee most of all—by so much do I owe them my introductions to many of the contemporary writers I should have been sorriest to miss. Ridgely Torrence discovered Yeats to me by repeating "Had I the Heavens' embroidered cloths." For Hofmannsthal I give thanks to William Vaughn Moody, who praised Oedipus und die Sphinx as it should be praised, and Hofmannsthal in one of his dialogues revealed Stephan George, whose Jahr der Seele has strengthened my preference among innovating poets for those who don't forsake altogether the ancient ways. I owe Samuel Butler to Adolphe Borie, who gave me The Way of All Flesh. I owe Shaw and Paul Claudel and Alfred Zimmern to Andrew Green, now a grower of vanilla and maker of rum and concentrator of lime juice on a West Indian island.

Friends, however, are neither always at hand nor always on the job. No matter what friends one has one must depend a good deal upon accident. To this day I might know nothing of Francis Vielé-Griffin if I had not happened to be reading Remy de Gourmont and if he had not happened to quote, instead of merely praising, this verse from Ronde Finale, in La Clarté de Vie:

> Dans les foins où les fleurs qui meurent
> Sont douces comme un vain regret;
> Sous les saules qui pleurent et effleurent
> L'eau qui dort comme une morte à leurs pieds;
> Elles vont vers l'automne et babillent
> Avec des mots de poète;
> La vie est faite et défaite
> Comme un bouquet aux mains d'une fille.

My acquaintance with Schnitzler might have been postponed for years but for the accident which put Anatol into a Dutch liner's ship library. A few lines by Mr. Max Beerbohm, in a Saturday Review, made me send to England for a novel by a writer I had never heard of, The Old Wives' Tale.

But suppose one did yearn to learn one's way about contemporary literature, English literature for example? Suppose one did wish to be in, aesthetically speaking, at the birth? The thing could be done. One could be certain of not missing much if he read the reviews in the Nation (London, bien entendu) the Times Literary Supplement (London Times, bien entendu) and the Manchester Guardian. But this would take time. Is there any one page which if read every week would soon show you the ropes? There is not. Mr. Arnold Bennett could do such a page perfectly, so far as fiction goes—particularly realistic fiction—but he has better things to do. So has everybody who could do such a page really well. Mr. Bennett was doing better things even when he was proving, in the New Age during 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911, how competent a guide to new novels he could make himself, whenever he chose. And not to novels only. How right he was about Brieux at a time when the other moderns, everywhere except in France, were overrating Brieux in violent concert! He was right about poets, too, putting Yeats and Robert Bridges first among the living. Seldom, very seldom, almost never, in fact, did he let fall one of those traitor sentences which give their maker away. I can think of only one instance: "In a rank lower than these we have William de Morgan and John Galsworthy."

But I don't want to read so many books, old or new, as a page a week would show me the way to. A page a month given to new books would slake my thirst, or a page a year if written by the right parties. That would indeed be "the wrought gold of a perfect page."

P. L.

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An Ethical Philosophy

An Ethical Philosophy of Life, by Felix Adler. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE appearance of a book which formulates a distinct philosophy of life is a rare and noteworthy event. Recent philosophy though loudly proclaiming its ambition to "make the world a better place to live in," has been singularly afraid of dealing with the fundamental question, what *is* good and what is *better?* Like the rest of the American public most of our philosophers seem to think it more important that a man should fix his attention on some incident in the current of events and "do" something about it, than that he should stop and inquire, Why? Where and whither this whole procession, and what is the good of it all? Doubtless a good deal of the older speculation on life and destiny was vain and insipid because of the theologic bias which made philosophers turn their backs on "the world" and prefer conventional piety to knowledge and fresh insight. But observations on the habits of the Australian Blackfellows and other "primitive" tribes which form the staple of ultra modern treatises on ethics, do not succeed in throwing more light on the vexed problems of social justice than did the older references and the lives of the saints. Professor Adler has shown us anew that it is possible to combine the insight of practical experience with the discipline of philosophic reflection, to mix with one's fellow citizens in the market place in such activities as tenement house reform and child labor committees, and yet retire at times to the mountain and pray and survey one's work, the needs of the multitudes and our cosmic background, with that time conquering vision which is the essence of all genuine philosophy.

The great truth which Prof. Adler sees with unsurpassed clarity and courage is the existence of humanly ineradicable evil, the inescapable frustration which results from our mortal finitude and makes the search for perfect happiness so pathetically vain. Neither in love nor in work, neither in society nor in solitude, neither in the arts nor in the sciences will the world of actuality permit us to attain perfection. The flowers of our hopes always wither and the fruits of our efforts are never free from the canker of disappointment. Prof. Adler is too enlightened to share the orthodox belief that all the atrocious evil of life will be compensated in some "hereafter." He is too honest a thinker to take seriously the childish belief that by a few mechanical inventions or politico-economic changes we can create a heaven on earth where men will be happy for ever afterwards. We know little of the conditions of our own happiness and much less as to what will make others happy. Certainly we have no guaranteed assurance that the blind forces of nature that crush man and brute, the just and the unjust, will permit the existence of the human race forever.

Despite the fact that modern popular philosophy blinks at these facts and calls anyone who insists on them pessimistic, there is nothing here to dampen courage or blunt the zest of life. An enlightened naturalist like Lucretius would say that the play of light on the waters is no less beautiful because our boat is likely to be wrecked by a storm. Moreover, the fearless understanding which is called philosophy, even if it cannot eliminate evil, can rob it of its terrors. But Prof. Adler is not a naturalist. To him evil is transcended by becoming the occasion for the recognition of an eternal supersensible world of which all human beings are even now members. The arrows of misfortune thus become beams of spiritual light piercing the dark clouds of our mortal existence.

The arguments by which Prof. Adler attempts to prove the reality of this supersensible universe seem to me entirely unconvincing—possibly because I cannot accept the Kantian metaphysics with its "reality producing functions of the mind." To all attempted proofs that *my* mind created the world or the events in it, I instinctively rebel with considerable resentment. On purely logical grounds, however, it is quite clear that in his fundamental assumption as to the possibility of an "infinite totality" Prof. Adler has failed to take account of the serious objections to this notion brought by Aristotle as well as by modern mathematical logicians. Nor would a logician regard the connections between Prof. Adler's theoretical assumptions and his practical applications as at all necessary. One may grant, for instance, (as I do) that we must always use the ideas of unity and plurality together without being thereby forced to admit that uniqueness as such is always ethically valuable; and one may admit the latter without granting that representation by industries is much of an improvement over our present parliamentary system. But it is not necessary to subscribe to the truth of a philosopher's metaphysical arguments to find his vision suggestive and illuminating—no more than it is necessary to believe in the geography of Homer or the astronomy of Dante. For genuine philosophic work, like genuine poetry, is an exercise of the imagination and as such frees us from the charnel house of petrified complacencies. Thus though Prof. Adler's starting point, and perhaps the influence of his vocation as an ethical preacher, lead him to adhere to the traditional legalistic conception of ethics, best represented by the Old Testament and the Stoics, the result of his experience and reflection is to undermine the traditional view of ethics as authoritatively fixed for all time and conditions and as ascetically contemptuous of human desires.

It is a grievous error to suppose, as many do, that the scientific spirit has already triumphed or replaced the theologic one in ethics. The life of science depends upon absolutely free inquiry and the community generally does not expect and will not tolerate writers on ethics who will question the accepted views on property, or marriage. Philosophers like Kant no less than the unreflecting multitude take it for granted that to seek for new ethical truths is preposterous or blasphemous, just as before the martyrdom of Bruno and Galileo men generally thought it outrageous audacity to seek for physical truths not already revealed by Aristotle or Galen. To be sure modern writers on ethics do sometimes speak as if they were embarking on a voyage of discovery but people generally feel so strongly about the established beliefs that natural timidity makes our travellers really determined at the outset to arrive nowhere except where the innocuous virtues of respectability receive unquestioning homage. When men like Marx, Nietzsche or Guyau announce new views on life they regard themselves as immoralists and the pious are taught to shudder at their names. Ethics thus becomes entrusted in the hands of pedagogues and professional preachers, retailers rather than producers of wisdom; and no one is surprised to find ethical treatises that are in the end nothing but more or less skillful apologies for the established order—whether it is Negro slavery in our own South, rotten boroughs in England or the Prussian monarchy in Germany.

The root of this evil is the frantic certainty which men summon when they face the baffling issues of life. Experience amply shows that the intensity of this certainty is

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proportional not to the extent of our knowledge but rather to the fearfulness of our ignorance which makes us cling desperately to old taboos. We really know less about the conduct of the whole of life than we do about limited and less complicated portions of it such as bridge building. Yet no bridge builder would pretend to the awful certainty of the Hebrew prophet or law-giver who begins with "Thus saith the Lord." Such certainty cannot tolerate unbelievers and by crushing the doubts suggested by experience, it breeds the fanaticism which shuts the gates of mercy on mankind.

The critical spirit or mature scepticism which the Greek philosophers introduced into ethics and thus transformed morality into an exercise of wisdom instead of a timid observance of taboos and legalistic prohibitions, finds little express recognition in Prof. Adler's philosophy. Possessed by the Kantian passion for absolute certitude where knowledge fails us, he cannot theoretically admit that life is largely a matter of hazard or taking chances, in which we have to learn by the method of trial and error. But his fundamental respect for human personality makes him instinctively eschew the method of authority and he gives his teaching largely in the form of results of his own experience. "Let others compare theirs with it." But once the necessity of experience is admitted it becomes impossible to maintain the traditional view that all ethical truth has already been revealed. Hence Prof. Adler rightly insists on encouraging a certain "intrepidity of soul to venture forth on voyages of discovery into unknown ethical regions, taking the risks but bent upon the prize." This recognition of the element of risk is of inestimable importance. It means that we must face life without any absolute guarantees and rely instead on our own courage. The risks of moral adventures are as grave as life and death, but without them there is no genuinely human life but only a slavish adherence to mechanically rigid rules which choke the currents of ever changing life. Rigorous and unqualified obedience to the accepted ethical rules is generally admired as a virtue, but it really ought to be viewed as involving an obtuse insensibility to the rich and subtle variety of human relations. The rules of ethics certainly have no securer scientific basis than the rules of hygiene. Both sets are undoubtedly useful as general maxims. But only quacks rely on such maxims without further knowledge of the actual circumstances surrounding concrete cases. Hence when traditional moralists like Kant treat such rules as that against lying as absolute, never to be broken even to defend an innocent life against a murderous madman, they are guilty of contemptible casuistry. Prof. Adler's position makes such casuistry impossible.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of traditional ethics is the dogma that the highest good is equally attainable by everyone. This necessarily makes the highest good independent of health, food and raiment, congenial society, and all the joys and comforts for which men long but which largely depend upon the accidents of birth and fortune. To be consistent the traditional view must, therefore, adopt the Kantian view that nothing is really good except the "good will." As we can never be sure of the existence of this metaphysical "good will" in ourselves or in others, ethics necessarily becomes a perfectly sterile doctrine, barren of any applications to the concrete issues of life. Prof. Adler does not, it is true, totally break with this tradition. He clings to the violent assertion that "the best is within reach of all" (p. 102), and maintains a sharp dualism between spiritual and "merely" empirical goods. Thus personal attraction, mutual aid and comfort, taking counsel together, sympathy in joy and sorrow, may be valuable elements in friendship but "they do not even touch the essential point" (p. 234). But, in the main, the importance which Prof. Adler rightly attaches to the instrumentalities of life clearly suggests the need of a radical transformation of the traditional view according to which the business of life is the saving of one's soul in a universe which is a transcendental wage system designed to reward men according to their effort and sacrifices rather than their achievements. Prof. Adler's conception of ethical life as an exercise of human energy, provides a basis for a truly emancipating philosophy of conduct.

The radical and revolutionary character of Prof. Adler's contribution to ethics is hidden by an intellectualistic psychology which is too rigid and clearly inadequate. I refer to his assertion that "we simply cannot act provisionally," and that we must have definitely formulated ideals before we can act at all. The procedure of the physical sciences which operate with provisional hypotheses is not exceptional but typical of all human effort that is open-minded and free from the delusion of finality. We doubtless must have an ideal to guide us in all our search and experiment, but our ideals are after all idealizations of our heart's desire, and the progress of enlightenment shows itself in nothing better than in the change of our ideals.

The root and vital motive of ethical thought is the passion for the relief of human suffering. Discerning readers will surely not find Prof. Adler himself lacking in this quality, but the book before us may leave the unfortunate impression that he regards metaphysical constructions as socially more potent for righteousness than natural human sympathy (cf. p. 49). No doubt Prof. Adler is right in insisting that sympathy like any other empirical principle is often an unsafe guide. But history amply shows that all efforts, metaphysical no less than empirical, after absolutely infallible guides to human conduct, have proved to be a chasing after the wind leading only to the overcrowded graveyard of human hopes. This lesson of history means not despair but the wisdom of living and working with the imperfect, and above all the necessity of assuaging that fierce moral fanaticism which so often makes life needlessly intolerable. Now more than ever we need the Greek counsel Nothing in Excess, or its equivalent Live and Let Live.

My own intense and perhaps partisan interest in the questions raised by Prof. Adler has probably led me to do injustice to a book that is not only a distinct intellectual achievement but a great human document, compacting the experience and reflection of a singularly unified life and mind. The last chapter especially is one of rare impressiveness. But whenever I finish reading it I invariably turn to Anatole France's Les Dieux Ont Soif with the conviction that a complete ethics must include Epicurus as well as St. Augustine.

MORRIS R. COHEN.

Six Hours for Work

The Six Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions, by Lord Leverhulme. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

FOR a half century the Socialists have tried to beguile us into contemplating a toil-free world for all mankind. Any normal man, they say, will find that a moderate amount of productive effort is agreeable. It is prolonging the working day beyond the point where fatigue sets in that transmutes work from pleasure into pain. Let us cut off the painful end of the day, then. Why not?

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Because, reply the practical men, it is impossible to produce enough food and clothing, to provide fuel and transportation and housing, unless the bulk of mankind accepts the necessity of fatigue. And that reply used to seem final to most of us. But now there is appearing a new generation of thinkers to challenge the virtue of wearisome toil. They demand that fatigue be done away with in the interest of maximum productive efficiency. Some of them we may ignore as Utopia mongers, but not Lord Leverhulme, the most emphatic and convinced thinker of the group. For Lord Leverhulme has conducted business enterprises of the first magnitude, and has conducted them with a degree of success hard to match either in England or in America. He is a man of irrepressible human instincts, but it is not on humanitarian grounds that he argues for the six hour day, high wages, and copartnership. They are good business. They do not, in his view, involve a reduction in profits, quite the contrary. Lord Leverhulme is never tired of reiterating the principle that the formidable competitors of British industry are not the low-wage, labor exploiting countries of the Orient but the high-wage countries like the United States.

A working day which is not to go beyond the point of fatigue should not, for routine tasks, exceed six hours, in Lord Leverhulme's opinion. It is already an established fact that the eight hour day, in most routine tasks, yields a greater output per man than any longer day. It is not merely that the shorter working day enlists a better spirit on the part of the workers. The experience of the munitions industry with workers whose spirit was one of absolute devotion proved conclusively that the long day is wasteful. The improvement in production in war industries that resulted from the substitution of a working day of eight hours or less for one of ten or more ranged from fifty per cent to one hundred and twenty per cent. But the eight hour day itself is in many tasks a fatiguing day, a day that induces ill health and the disorganization of industry entailed by the dropping out of workers on account of sickness. The conclusion is obvious that there must be conditions in which the employer would gain increased profits by limiting the hours of each worker to six.

There are also conditions, Lord Leverhulme argues, where the employer would gain enormously. A factory which operates under the eight or ten hour day encounters serious practical difficulties when it attempts to employ two shifts. Eight in the morning to twelve, and one in the afternoon to five represents a working period that eats the heart out of the twenty-four hours. There remains the possibility of a night shift, but laborers respond reluctantly and sluggishly to a régime that assimilates their life to that of the owls. The six hour day lends itself readily to the plan of working two shifts, from seven in the morning to one and from one to seven. No worker would grumble about the confining character of his work if he had either the whole morning or the whole afternoon to himself. Nor would it be impossible to work a third shift, from seven in the evening to one, or even a fourth shift, from one in the morning to seven. The worker would sacrifice half the night, but would enjoy leisure through the whole day. There is owl enough in most men for that.

So much for the laborer's side of the question. The employer's side looks even more rosy. In many industries the charges for interest on capital and depreciation, or rather, obsolescence, equal or exceed the charges for wages. Those capital charges remain practically the same, whether the factory operates one shift or four. It would therefore often pay richly to institute a six hour day permitting two or more shifts even if the product per hour did not increase and wages per day remained stationary or were even somewhat advanced. In many industries where that is not now the case, it would become the case upon the introduction of more efficient and costly machinery. The six hour day is a problem analogous to the problems of mechanics. The heavier than air flying machine, Sir Hiram Maxim pointed out long ago, would become feasible as soon as a motor should be built which would generate one horse power for the weight of a hen. There is a definite quantity of machine power that will make the six hour day feasible in industries where it would not pay under existing conditions. It is the duty of industrial engineering to find this quantity and apply it.

But if all factories were working multiple shifts under the six hour day, what could be done with the enormous increase in output? That is a phase of the matter that disturbs Lord Leverhulme no more than it disturbs other orthodox economists—for Lord Leverhulme is at heart as orthodox as any other. The consumption of the workers themselves will take care of the increased production. If any one doubts this let him speculate for a moment on what would be the natural consequences of the great increase in leisure that would attend the introduction of the six hour day. The worker would demand better housing, better clothes, better equipment generally. So brief a day, furthermore, would make practicable a comprehensive scheme of adult education, for industry, politics and life. It would raise standards all around. That means an incalculable increase in the absorbing power of the domestic markets. And of course the export trade would flourish, with Britain in a position to furnish the world with goods at lowest costs.

But if it is all so simple as this, why have not practical business men everywhere instituted the six hour day? Well, the practical man is not infallible even in the pursuit of his own gain. Did he not resist every shortening of the work day, from fourteen hours to eight, although experience later proved that he was destined to gain by each stage in the process? The practical man, Lord Leverhulme remarks, only half in jest, is one who persists in practices that have been proved to be mistaken. But apart from the conservatism of the practical business men there is a sound reason why only a rationally concerted policy can shift the industry of a nation to a more human basis, even though that must eventually prove a more profitable basis. The six hour day, to be most fruitful, implies a healthier, more intelligent, more spirited worker than can be drawn from a system where most workers have been stamped to the pattern of passively resistant automatons by years of excessive toil. When Lord Leverhulme sets up a factory to work under the six hour system he must man it with employees who have been cramped and deadened under the older system.

Wages and hours lie at the basis of the labor problem. Without solving the problems of a living wage and a tolerable day, nothing can be solved. But Lord Leverhulme recognizes that these are not the whole solution. The worker can not remain a mere hand; he must have a living interest in the process which employs him. For years Lord Leverhulme has been at work evolving a system of copartnership by which the workers are given an interest in the profits of the business while abating nothing of their claim to standard wages in bad times as well as good. But control, he feels, belongs to those who take the risks, and labor neither takes nor ought to take risks. Yet he wavers a little here, and often makes concessions to the idea that

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when the workers have become educated, as they can be under the six hour system, there may be a steady flow of ability from the routine workers through the management and into the directorate. It is a safe forecast that Lord Leverhulme will eventually make a greater place for labor participation in the control of industry. At present he interprets risks too narrowly. The laborer does in fact bear some part of the risk; if the enterprise fails he loses his job—no small loss under a system of oversupplied labor markets. Apart from the question of equity there are cogent practical arguments for labor participation in control. Employers as a class, as Lord Leverhulme agrees, have all through a century clung to an uneconomic working day and are still clinging to it. It is not clear that this would have been the case if seats in the directorate had been accorded to men who knew the feelings of the manual workers as only manual workers can know them.

ALVIN JOHNSON.

A Country Town

Winesburg, Ohio, A Group of Tales of Ohio Small Town Life, by Sherwood Anderson. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

EVERY middle westerner will recognize Winesburg, Ohio, as the town in which he grew up. Devon, Iowa, would have furnished forth just such a book as this had an incisive historian made the community his own; so would Minnewaukan, North Dakota, or Wolf Point, Montana, or any one of ten thousand others. The story of a small town anywhere is the story of the revolt of youth against custom-morality; with youth winning only occasionally and in secret, losing often and publicly. In the middle west the dominant morality of the cross-roads is a puritan inheritance. Puritanism went over to Ohio from New England with the settlers, and has taken a firmer hold on the minds and lives of the inhabitants of the Mississippi valley than it ever had in the east. Hell-fire begins to look a trifle comical in Massachusetts. There is a wide-spread recognition of other inconveniences more direct and immediate. But in Kansas and Nebraska the most potent terror is still the anger of a deity.

The Winesburg of twenty years ago was like the Kansas of today, at least in philosophy. The known and accepted standards were those laid down some thousands of years ago by the leader of one of the nomadic tribes of Asia Minor, crudely adjusted to fit a more complex situation. In many ways the ancient laws could not be adjusted at all; they seem to have confused and darkened more often than they shed light. The wonder is that so few shins were broken on the ten tables of stone. Five hundred sensitive individuals isolated in a haphazard spot on the prairie and seeking to express themselves through the forms of a religion ill-understood, the methods of a business system inherently unjust, and the social customs of a more brutal and bitter era were fated to come upon tragic and pathetic difficulties. For that matter there has never been any truth in the notion of pensive hamlets and quiet little villages. Cranford may have dozed. There were no men in Cranford. But the dwellers in -villes and -burgs and -towns from Jamestown in Maine to Jamestown in California can tell you truths about their neighbors that will shatter forever what remains of the assumption that life seethes most treacherously in cities and that there are sylvan retreats where the days pass from harvest to harvest like an idyl of Theocritus. There is outward repose over Winesburg, a garment of respectable repose covering alike the infinite pain, the grief, the agony of futile groping, the momentary flare of beauty or passion of which the citizens are ashamed.

We are given our view of Winesburg through twenty-three sketches dealing with the crises in as many lives. The lives are inter-related, and a multitude of subsidiary figures drift through the incidents, appearing and disappearing, grouping and changing, in the manner of pedestrians along a by-street. The stories are homely and unemphatic. Crime and love and merry-making come casually into being; chance exalts and flatters, thwarts and subdues. The character that re-emerges oftenest is George Willard, reporter for the Winesburg Eagle. He is the ordinary, bumptious young man with dreams of getting "away from all this" and doing "something" huge and vague in distant cities. To him the town is dull and queer. Save when shocked or startled into a mood of insight he sees little but news values. It was old Parcival who first shocked him. He "began to plead with George Willard. 'You must pay attention to me,' he urged. 'If something happens to me perhaps you will be able to write the book that I may never get written. The idea is very simple, so simple that if you are not careful you will forget it. It is this—that everyone in the world is Christ, and they are all crucified. That's what I want to say. Don't you forget that. Whatever happens, don't you dare let yourself forget.'"

The most satisfactory of the sketches is the one called Paper Pills, a bit from the lives of Doctor Reefy and the tall dark girl who became his wife. There are only five pages of it, and it is told effortlessly, almost carelessly, yet it suggests better than any of the more conscious attempts the theme that engages Mr. Anderson throughout, the loneliness of human life, the baffled search of every personality for meanings and purposes deeper than anything that may be said or done, answers that will cut under the superficial axioms by which we are judged. "The girl and Doctor Reefy began their courtship on a summer afternoon. He was forty-five then, and already he had begun the practice of filling his pockets with the scraps of paper that became hard balls and were thrown away. The habit had been formed as he sat in his buggy behind the jaded grey horse and went slowly along country roads. On the papers were written thoughts, ends of thoughts, beginnings of thoughts. One by one the mind of Doctor Reefy had made the thoughts. Out of many of them he formed a truth that arose gigantic in his mind. The truth clouded the world. It became terrible and then faded away and the little thoughts began again." The girl had come to him because she was pregnant, and there was nobody else to confide in. We hear nothing of their talk together. "The condition that had brought her to him passed in an illness, but she was like one who has discovered the sweetness of the twisted apples, she could not get her mind fixed again on the round perfect fruit that is eaten in the city apartments. In the fall after the beginning of her acquaintanceship with him she married Doctor Reefy and in the following spring she died. During the winter he read to her all of the odds and ends of thoughts he had scribbled on the bits of paper. After he had read them he laughed and stuffed them away in his pockets to become round hard balls."

As a challenge to the snappy short story form, with its planned proportions of flippant philosophy, epigrammatic conversation, and sex danger, nothing better has come out of America than Winesburg, Ohio. Because we have so little in the field it is probably easy to over-estimate its excellence. In Chekhov's sketches simplicity is an artistic

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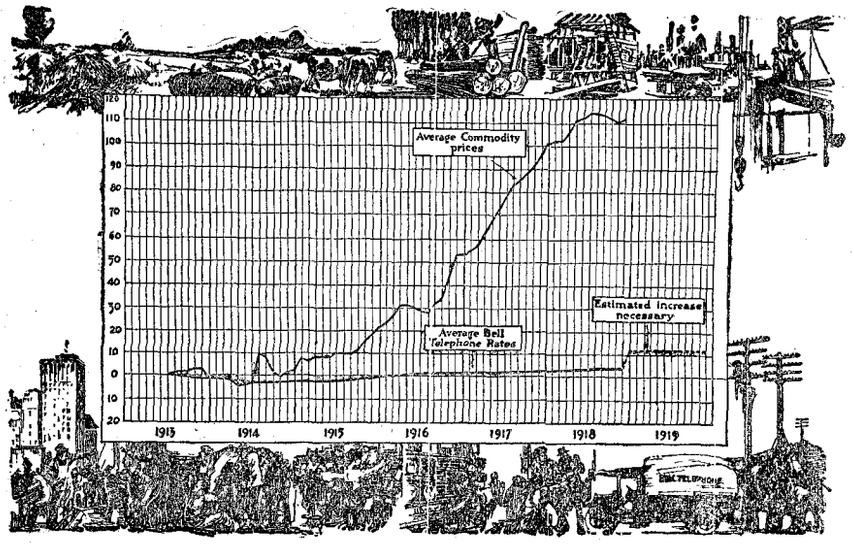

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The Causes of Germany's Moral Downfall, by Robert James Hutcheon. Boston: The Beacon Press.

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Contributors

G. D. H. Cole, an authority on labor in England. The author of Labor in Wartime, and Self-Government in Industry, etc.

Israel Zangwill, the author of Children of the Ghetto, the Melting Pot and other books.

H. N. Brailsford, English publicist and the author of several books on international affairs, among them The War of Steel and Gold and A League of Nations. He fought in the Greek Foreign Legion in 1897. He was British Relief Agent in Macedonia in 1903-4, a member of the Carnegie Commission in the Balkans in 1913, and has done much work in Turkey and the Balkans as newspaper correspondent, usually for the Manchester Guardian.

Ordway Tead, a graduate of Amherst who was associated with the late Robert G. Valentine in industrial counselling. The author of The People's Part in Peace, an Inquiry into the Basis for a Sound Internationalism, and contributor to various magazines of articles on economic subjects.

Alice Hamilton, bacteriologist, a member of the American Association for Labor Legislation and a contributor of articles to scientific and other journals.

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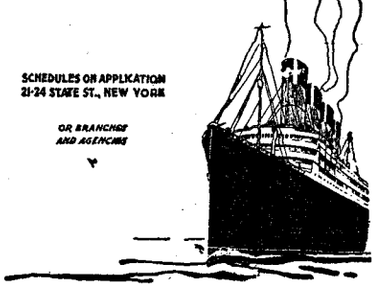

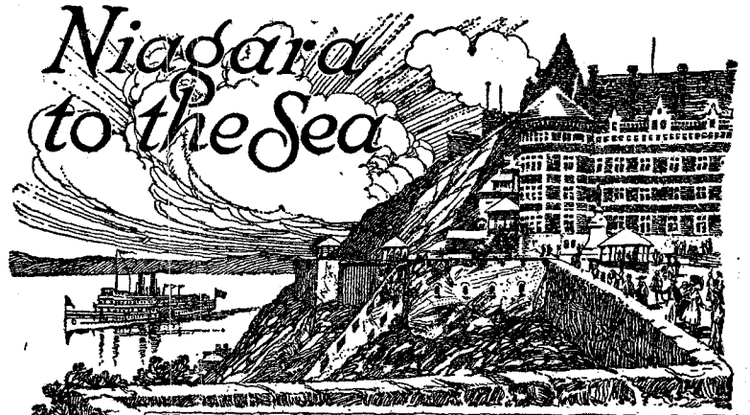

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